

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

Vol. XXIX.

BALTIMORE, MAY, 1914.

No. 5.

THE LEGEND OF ST. CHRISTINA BY WILLIAM PARIS

So infrequently can a medieval poem, or indeed one of much later origin, be precisely dated that there is considerable satisfaction in pinning a work down to a particular year by absolute evidence. When such a discovery of date reveals, even in a half-light, the personality of an obscure author and the elements of a very pretty story, the satisfaction is measurably increased. The case in point is not important of itself; but it has its bearings on the history of several great figures of Richard the Second's reign and, if I mistake not, on the contemporary reputation of Chaucer himself.

DATE AND AUTHORSHIP

In a manuscript (Arundel 168) containing also an anonymous legend of St. Dorothea, Capgrave's *Catharine*, and Lydgate's *Life of the Blessed Virgin* is preserved to us one of the four Middle English poems on St. Christina. This work¹ of 528 verses in eight-line stanzas, riming *ababbaba*, was written by an author otherwise unknown to us and, quite possibly, otherwise not an author at all. He names himself William Parys. The circumstances in which he composed his poem, as he himself relates them, enable us to fix with certainty the time when he wrote, and reveal something of his character. I quote his statement of the case (vv. 497-528):

Seint cristyne helpe thourought thi prayere
That we may fare the better for the,
That hath bene longe in prisone here,
The Ile of mane, þat stronge cuntre.²
Sire Thomas Brawchaump ane erle was he;
In Warwik-shire was his powere;
Now is he of so poure degre,
He hath no mane saue one squiere.

¹ Ms. Arundel 168, fols. 2a-4b. Ed. Horstmann, *Sammlung altenglischer Legenden*, 1878, pp. 183-190.

² Ms. reads "of mane of þat."

Where are his knyghtis þat with hym yede
Whane he was in prosperite?
Where are the squiers now at nede
That sumetyme thoughte þei wold not flee?
Of yomene hade he grete plente
That he was wonte to cloth & feede.
Nowe is þer none of þe mene
That ons dare se þer lorde fore drede.

In prisone site þer lorde alone;
Of his mene he hath no moo
But William parys, be seint John!
That with his wille wolde noght hime fro.
He made this lyfe in ynglishe soo
As he satte in prisone of stone,
Euer as he myghte tent þer to,
Whane he had his lordis seruice done.

Jhesu criste, goddeste sone of myghte,
As þou come downe to mende oure mysse
Ande in a clene virgyne þou lyghte,
Marie, þat now thi modire is,
Thou graunte alle grace þat hath herde this
In heuene of the to haue a sighte,
To se the sitte there in thi blisse
With seint cristyne, þi maydyne brighte!*

There can be no doubt that the "Sire Thomas Brawchaump" mentioned in the first stanza quoted is a mistake of the scribe for Sir Thomas Beauchamp, and that the imprisoned nobleman on the Isle of Man was no other than the governor of Richard II, the ally of the Duke of Gloucester and the Earl of Arundel: that Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who fell a victim in 1397 to the malevolent revenge of a king whose will he had helped to flout.

Of Thomas de Beauchamp's career but little need be said until the opening of its final chapter. He succeeded to his title in 1369, when twenty-four years of age, took part in John of Gaunt's French campaign in 1373, and in 1380 was appointed governor of the young king Richard II. About 1385 he joined the baronial party in opposition to the king, headed at

*For a collation of this passage I wish to thank my friend Professor Robert K. Root, whose readings I reproduce. In a few details the text differs from Horstmann's.

that time by Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, and Henry of Derby, whom we know best as Bolingbroke. In November, 1387, he was a leader in the threatened uprising, managed by Gloucester, Earl Richard of Arundel, and himself, which humiliated the sovereign; and in the following February he was one of the five lords appellant who routed the king's favorites and for a time ruled England. Richard's *coup d'état* of May 3, 1389, destroyed the power of this coalition; but his singular moderation saved Warwick and his fellows from punishment.

During the summer of 1397, however, the king either became alarmed by the behavior of Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick; or, as seems more probable, believed himself to be in a position to pay off old scores against the three noblemen. At all events, he had them arrested in July. Gloucester he sent to Calais for safe-keeping, Arundel to the Isle of Wight, and Warwick to the Tower.⁴ On the fifth of August⁵ all of them were impeached of treason. On September 16 the pardons issued to them for their actions ten years before were repealed.⁶ Before they could be brought to trial, Gloucester was dead in Calais, murdered by the king's order. Arundel was accused and beheaded on September 21;⁷ and on September 28⁸ Warwick was tried. In contrast to Arundel, he made an abject confession and was promptly sentenced to be drawn, hanged, and beheaded, and to forfeit his estates. On the following day this sentence was commuted by the king "q'il demurerait en perpetuel prison hors du Roialme en l'Isle de Man pur terme de sa vie. . . . Et q'il soit a la mere sur son passage vers le dit Isle de Man devaunt la fyn d'un moys apres yceste XXIX jour de

Septembre, a demurer illeques pur terme de sa vie, en la fourme suis dite. Et sur ceo, le dit Counte de Warr' fuist deliverez a Mon^r William le Scrop, & a Mon^r Estevene son frere, pur luy sauvement amesner vers le dit Isle, & lui garder corps pur corps illeques, saunz lesser le dit Counte de Warr' departier hors de dit Isle."⁹ A chronicle in English gives the additional details that the trial was conducted with extraordinary precautions as to guards, and in a "long and large hous of tymber in the paleis at Westmynstre, that was callid an Hale; couered with tilez, and open on both sidez and atte endis, that alle men myghte se thorough."¹⁰ The same chronicle (p. 11) also records that the commutation of Warwick's sentence was "be instance of lordis, because he was of gret age"; but it seems more probable that the king's clemency was due to his satisfaction in witnessing the complete abasement of an old enemy.

Warwick must, according to his sentence, have arrived on the Isle of Man before the end of October, 1397. He left it, we are told, after the triumph of Henry of Lancaster in August, 1399.¹¹ The author of the *Annales Ricardi* further states that during his imprisonment Warwick "tractatus fuerat satis inhumane per ministros Willelmi Scrop, cui pertinuit regnum illud." To this matter we must presently return. At the moment, let me record that Warwick did not long survive his liberation, dying in April, 1401.

The bearing of this political history on the question of the date of our poem is evident. Paris says of Warwick (vv. 499-500):

That hath bene longe in prisone here,
The Ile of mane, þat stronge cuntre.

Although "long" is a sufficiently indefinite measure of time, Paris could scarcely have so

⁴ *An English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II, etc.*, ed. J. S. Davies (Camden Soc. LXIV, 1856), p. 8.

⁵ *Rolls of Parl.* III, 374 f.; *Annales Ricardi*, ed. H. T. Riley, p. 207 (*Rolls Ser.*, XXVIII^p); *Eulogium*, ed. J. S. Davies, in *An English Chronicle, etc.*, p. 130.

⁶ *Rolls of Parl.* III, 350.

⁷ *Id.* III, 377.

⁸ *Id.*, III, 379.

⁹ *Id.*, III, 380.

¹⁰ *An English Chronicle*, ed. J. S. Davies, p. 9.

¹¹ *Annales Ricardi*, p. 252. J. H. R(ound) in the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* states that Warwick was recommitted to the Tower on July 12, 1398. Of this I can find no evidence whatever; the record of the *Annales* is explicit.

designated the length of his exile before 1398 came in. On the other hand, he may have been writing during the early months of 1399. Within the limits thus set, the poem can safely be dated. The evidence is unusually complete.

With reference to two matters, furthermore, the evidence of the poem should be weighed for its bearing upon the judgments of history. In the first place, the devotion of Paris to his lord is so unfeigned that one cannot but believe that Thomas Beauchamp had more qualities of manliness than have been allowed to him by modern historians. He is represented to us by them as unscrupulous, time-serving, cowardly. Surely, if this were the whole story, he would have been somewhat less of a hero to his squire.

In prisone site þer lorde alone;
Of his mene he hath no moo
But William parys, be seint Johne!
That with his wille wolde noght hime fro.

Unless he were a better man than is apparent from his political acts, Warwick could scarcely have commanded fidelity of this kind. It speaks well for William Paris, but it says something also for Warwick.

In the second place, the statement of the chronicle that Warwick was "inhumanly" treated during his exile by the servants of Scrope is not confirmed by the poem. Indeed, unless both Paris and his master were decently used, it is hard to see how the former could have written his legend. As we shall see, he did not get his material from the most obvious sources. Such a collection as the *Legenda Aurea* might conceivably have been among the exiles' effects, but it is not likely that they carried with them many books. It seems probable that they were given access to whatever library the island boasted. At all events, they were not entirely deprived of the consolations of literature. Furthermore—and this is, perhaps, more important—Paris makes no complaint of ill-treatment, as he assuredly would have done if he had felt that his lord was being subjected to harsh or unusual punishment. His only complaint is that Warwick's other followers have deserted.

LITERARY RELATIONS

As noted above, four poems on the passion of St. Christina exist in Middle English. In approximate chronological order, these are:

1. *De sancta Cristina*, in the expanded *North-English Homily Collection* as found in ms. Harl. 4196.¹²

2. *Cristine*, in the *Scottish Legend Collection*.¹³

3. *Crystine*, by William Paris.

4. *Vita Sanctae Christianae*, by Osborn Bokenam.¹⁴

In an attempt to discover the relations of these poems to one another and to their sources, I have compared them, phrase by phrase and incident by incident, with such versions of the Latin *Passio* as have been accessible to me. I have examined the texts in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale*, and Mombritius, as well as the epitomes in *Legenda Aurea*, Petrus de Natalibus, and Surius. Reference to the invaluable *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* will show, however, that the comparison I have made is very far from exhaustive. In particular, I regret that I have been unable to find in this country a copy of Pennazzi, *Vita e martirio ammirabile della gloriosa S. Cristina*, a book published in 1725 at Montefiascone, which contains several important Latin texts of the legend. Until those texts, at least, have been utilized, it is hardly worth the while to print the tabular analysis that I have prepared. No positive conclusions as to the sources of the Middle English poems can be reached until this work is done. For the present I must content myself with referring briefly to the results of the comparison as far as it has been made.

In general, it may safely be said of the four Middle English poems that they are independent translations from four distinct Latin ver-

¹² Ed. Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden, neue Folge*, 1881, pp. 93-96.

¹³ Ed. Horstmann, *Barbour's Legendensammlung*, 1882, II, 177-181; Metcalfe, *Legends of the Saints in the Scottish Dialect of the Fourteenth Century* (S. T. S., 1896), II, 398-406.

¹⁴ Ed. Horstmann, *Osborn Bokenam's Legenden*, 1883, pp. 54-80.

sions of the *Passio*. Exclusions and inclusions of incidents, as well as order of events and discrepancies of detail, make this certain.

With reference to the sources of the English versions severally, my results are, as I have said, thus far unsatisfactory. The *Christina* of the *North-English Homily Collection* has some striking points of similarity to William Paris's poem as, for example, the baptism of the saint in the sea by Christ, where the two resemble the epitome of *Legenda Aurea*. On the other hand, in at least one trait the Harleian poem differs from every other version that I have examined: Christina is protected by a miraculous growth of hair from the shame of nakedness. Obviously, we have still to find the source.

The version of the *Scottish Legend Collection* has long been referred to the *Legenda Aurea* as its source. As is the case with other legends in that collection, however, there are marked discrepancies between the poem and the received text of the Latin. For example, the name of the judge who succeeded Christina's father is given by Graesse as Ellius, while it appears in the Scottish translation as Denyse.¹⁵ There can be no doubt, I think, that the Scottish *Christina* was translated from *Legenda Aurea*. The divergences in detail serve merely to show how valuable would be a variorum edition of James of Varragine.

As to the poem by William Paris, I have come no nearer a discovery of the exact source than in the case of the *Christina* of the Harleian ms. There is the same curious criss-cross of similarity and dissimilarity to all the Latin versions that I have yet examined.¹⁶ Possibly the Latin text used by Warwick's squire on the Isle of Man may have perished there; but it seems to me likely that a version very similar to it, at least, must still be in existence. It may be worth while to note that Paris's reference in his epilogue to Bul-

stene (Bolsena) as Christina's burial-place points to a Vatican ms.¹⁷ as representing this possible original.

Osbern Bokenam's poem, of the four, is the only one that greatly resembles the version printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*. Willenberg's conclusion¹⁸ that Bokenam did not translate precisely that version is unquestionably sound; but he must have used a Latin text closely related to it. There is every reason to hope that a fuller examination of extant texts will reveal his veritable source.

LITERARY INSPIRATION

Whether or no we have preserved to us the precise version of the *Passio* that William Paris translated, we can, I believe, discover what work he used as a model. It is less easy, to be sure, to trace with certitude relationships in style and manner than relationships in subject-matter; it is not possible in the present case to submit definite proof. Nevertheless, William Paris's legend seems to me so clearly an imitation of Chaucer's *Second Nun's Tale* (*Caecilia*) that I have no hesitancy about stating my opinion.

It has, in the first place, the same sobriety, the same simplicity, the same brevity, the same solidity; and it is by virtue of these qualities that Chaucer's legend is so successful a treatment of his theme. In both cases, of course, much of the value of the performance is to be ascribed to the Latin original. Yet one need not have read widely in verse translations of the Middle English, or of any other period of our literature, to know that the good qualities of a work may be singularly obscured by indifferent craftsmanship. I am not saying that William Paris was a great poet; he was, indeed, as far as one can make out, only a young gentleman with a taste for letters who whiled away the tedium of imprisonment by writing this one legend,

Euer as he myghte tent per to,
Whane he had his lordis seruice done.

¹⁵ Brunet's translation gives it as Enius.

¹⁶ The snake-charmer is called Marces, for example: a misunderstanding of a class-name as a proper name that appears also in the text of Mombricitus but not elsewhere. In other respects, there is marked divergence from that text.

¹⁷ Listed in *Bibl. Hag. Lat.* as 1748a.

¹⁸ *Engl. Stud.*, XII, 36.

Yet I am greatly mistaken in my notions of literary art if a young retainer of a great lord could have made in 1398 or 1399 a poem with precisely the qualities of this if he had not been a reader of Chaucer.

It is not that he used Chaucerian phrases; it is not that he refashioned the substance of his story and took Chaucer as his master of narrative art; it is simply a case where diction, turn of speech, and rhythmical movement constantly recall the manner of the great poet. Of the four poems on St. Christina, which I have mentioned, that by Paris is far and away the most interesting. It is the only one that has literary quality. Bokenam in his version does not lack interest, to be sure, for his personality makes all his legends individual; but Bokenam was a disciple of Chaucer in profession rather than in fact. Lydgate, and almost certainly Gower, led astray such writers as the Austin friar into paths of which Chaucer's literary taste would have disapproved. In Paris there is no parade of learning—probably the squire had little; and no polysyllabic rimes sprawl their slow lengths upon his verse. He wrote vigorously and not ungracefully, even if not with great mastery. The trick of such verse-making must, I believe, have come from Chaucer, who was a magnificent artificer as well as a great story-teller, a wonderful humorist, and an admirable observer of life.

Paris was, it must be admitted, not very fortunate in his choice of a subject. The legend of St. Christina has not in it the possibilities that Chaucer turned to such good account in narrating the life of St. Caecilia. Yet he made of the crude tale as satisfactory a poem as might have been expected if it had been done by a versifier of much greater experience and of much more renown. To Chaucer, as well as to Paris, be the glory, since he must have been "the only begetter" of this rather charming waif from the end of the fourteenth century.

If my belief be correct as to the inspiration of the legend, the evidence that it affords of Chaucer's influence upon the court circle of his time is not without interest. If Paris indeed took him as his model, it is clear that the troubled days of King Richard were not with-

out their mitigations. It is pleasant to reflect that letters could be a solace to the retainer of an exiled lord and that, at court or in banishment, the spirit of the yet-living Chaucer could dominate his mind.

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OLD NORSE NOTES¹

IV. ETYMOLOGY OF *þengill*

Of the many Old Icelandic poetic synonyms (*ókennd heiti*) for 'king,' 'prince,' 'hero,' 'man,' some few have remained obscure in origin and etymology. Among these the word *þengill* is one of the most common. Noreen² brings the word into connection with *þing*, "popular assembly." The Old Norwegian form *þingill* which he cites appears, however, to be a secondary development of the older *þengill*³ and the relation between *þengill* and *þing*, if there be one, entirely remote. Konráð Gíslason⁴ was obviously nearer the truth in rejecting the connection of the former word with *þing* and insisting upon that with *þang* (= "sea-weed": Swedish *tång*, Danish *Tang*; German *Tang* is a loan-word from the Scandinavian). The difficulty is in this case a semi-siological one. Gíslason called attention to *þengull*, which is an exactly parallel formation to *þengill* with suffix-gradation (*-ula*, *-ila*-, the *ø* and *e* representing respectively *u*- and *i*-umlaut of *a*), and which, according to Gíslason, applied to a particularly large and hard species of sea-weed. Gíslason thought the word *þengill* might then have been used of a man, characterizing him as surpassing other men in the same proportion as the *þengull* surpassed other kinds of sea-weed (*þang*). That this explanation is unlikely is at once apparent.

¹ Cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXVI (1911), pp. 46-50.

² *Altisl. und altnorw. Gramm.*³ (1903), § 161.

³ Cf. O. Rygh, *Gamle Personnavne i norske Stednavne* (1901), pp. 246 f.

⁴ *Forelæsninger over oldnordiske Skjaldekvad*, pp. 199 f., published 1895.

An interesting article by Much⁵ so far confirmed results which I had tentatively reached that I now venture to publish them. The Germanic tendency to compare a man with a tree or stout piece of wood had been well known through Old Norse *kenningar* and etymological matter (Much refers to previous collections). Among additions to earlier lists Much (p. 43) calls attention to the *Stingel* (Modern German *Stengel*) of Schmeller's *Bayerisches Wörterbuch*, where with others the following meaning is given: "Mannsperson, insonderheit noch lediger Bursche." Old Norse *pengill* appears to be the same word as German *Stengel* without initial *s*.⁶ The semasiological difficulties standing in the way of this assumption are not serious. That the robust sea-weeds of Northern latitudes should be designated by a word meaning "Stengel" or something similar is not remarkable. In fact, Fritzner⁷ without reference to etymology defined *pöngull* as "Tangstengel, Tangstamme" and as an Old Norse kenning *hlíðþang* or *hlíðar þang* (*hlíð*, f.="mountain-side") meant "forest."⁸ That *þang* should be related to Old Norse *stong*, German *Stange*, etc., is in the light of these facts not so incredible either.⁹

Anglo-Saxon poetry made similar use of the word *þengel* together with an alternative form *fengel*.¹⁰ A third form *strengel* ascribed to *Beowulf* (l. 3115) might almost suggest an error for *stengel*, were it not for the fact that the duplication of the *wigena strengel* (l. 3115) by *wigena strengest* (l. 1543) rather indicates that the mistake is of a different sort.¹¹

⁵ "Holz und Mensch," in *Wörter und Sachen*, I (1909), 39 ff.

⁶ Cf. Noreen, *Abriss der urgerm. Lautlehre*, pp. 201 ff. and the literature there cited for initial *s* before consonants.

⁷ *Ordbog*, III, 1067.

⁸ Sv. Egilsson, *Lexicon poeticum*, p. 357.

⁹ Torp and Falk (Fick, *Vergl. Wörterb.*, III, 1909, 179) seem in doubt as to where to put it.

¹⁰ For the relation of the *f* to the *þ* cf. Noreen, *Urgerm. Lautlehre*, p. 197.

¹¹ Cosijn's emendation (*Aanteekeningen op den Beowulf*, 1892, p. 24) *strengel* for *strengest* in the latter case, though incorporated by Holthausen in his text, is not fully convincing.

Pengill has survived in Modern Norwegian as a personal name *Tengel*,¹² just as *Stengel* occurs as a family-name in German.

V. ETYMOLOGY OF *glíma*

The distinctive word for the wrestling-bout of Iceland which has persisted from the saga-period to the present time has, so far as I know, never been explained.¹³ The word exists as a noun *glíma* (fem. -*ön*-stem) and verb *glíma* (weak conjugation). It has not been recognized as a loan-word and I know of no reason to suspect that such is the case. That it might be related in some way to Old Icelandic *glý* (neut., Anglo-Saxon *gléo*, Engl. *glee*) and that from a general meaning of "amusement" it came to apply to the particular amusement of the wrestling-match does not seem likely. I am more inclined to believe that it contains the Germanic prefix *ga-*, which had in Old Icelandic in every case been reduced to *g-*.¹⁴ It is not, however, my purpose to suggest the verb *líma* meaning "to stick, glue" (German *leimen*), but rather the Germanic root *hli* (Indo-European *kli*)¹⁵ meaning "bending, inclined, leaning," occurring in a variety of words, most commonly followed by the (Indo-European) consonants *n* or *t*, though also in some words by others. With an *m*-element it is not otherwise represented in Germanic, however, except in the Gothic *hleiduma* ("left"), where the *m* forms a part of the old superlative suffix. If it were possible for this form to become the basis of a verb or noun in Old Icelandic, the *-du-* might undoubtedly have disappeared,¹⁶ but it is not likely that such is the case. It rather seems to me that the word

¹² Cf. Aasen, *Norsk Navnebog*, p. 39.

¹³ On the Icelandic *glíma* cf. especially Björn Bjarnason, *Nordboernes legemlige Uddannelse i Oldtiden* (København, 1905), pp. 102 ff. A remarkably detailed account is given by Ólafur Davíðsson in *Íslenskar gátur, þulur og skemtanir*, II (1888), 38-70.

¹⁴ Cf. Noreen, *Altisl. und altnorw. Gramm.*,² § 146 and the literature there cited.

¹⁵ Torp and Falk in Fick, *Vergl. Wörterb.*, III (1909), 111 ff.

¹⁶ Cf. Noreen, *Altisl. und altnorw. Gramm.*,² §§ 145b, 282.

has the *m*-element attached directly to the root. Though the Germanic languages preserve from this root no other such form with *m*, such a formation is not impossible as is shown for example by the Greek *κλίμα* and *κλίμαξ* derived from the same root.¹⁷ To be sure, the complete suffixal elements of the Greek words do not agree with that of the Germanic (Norse) one, *-mōn-*,¹⁸ but this latter is an entirely familiar Indo-European suffixal form and is represented in other feminine *n*-stems in Old Norse.¹⁹ This assumes, of course, that the verb *glíma* is secondary to the noun. The full Germanic stem-form of the noun would be, according to this theory, *gahlīmōn-*. Semasiologically this etymology is hardly objectionable. That the Icelandic should preserve this word-form lost in the other Scandinavian languages is not incredible; that it was a new formation subsequent to the settlement of Iceland is practically out of the question.

VI. *Gripisspá* 3

This Eddic poem has by pretty general consent been relegated to a place among the last in time of composition and least in point of merit of the Eddic repertory. Both in his choice of form and in his use of material the author was in many respects unfortunate, to say the least.²⁰ The poem is not however to be understood as a mere catalog-poem, a versified table of contents of the Sigurð-legend, inasmuch as the author has both chosen and treated his materials with reference to a definite object, that of making his hero appear a chivalrous knight *sans reproche*. The emphasis is thrown upon the ethical and the means employed of representing Sigurð himself as shocked at his future deception of

Brynhildr, while his prophetic uncle tries to reassure him, is at least interesting.²¹ The poem seems generally well preserved, which accords with the wide-spread conviction of its late origin: only one point at the beginning offers real difficulties.²² The first five stanzas as preserved in the *Codex regius* narrate that Sigurðr meeting Geitir outside Grípi's dwelling (1) asked the name of the inmate and was informed that it was Grípir, (2) that he expressed his desire as a stranger (*maþr ókunnigr*) to speak directly with Grípir; whereupon (3) Geitir asked his name and was informed that he was Sigurðr the son of Sigmundr and Hjördis. Geitir (4) then went and informed Grípir that a stranger (*maþr ókuþr*) had come to speak with him. Grípir (5) comes out and greets Sigurðr by name and bids him welcome. These peculiar inconsistencies with reference to Sigurð's identity evidently account for the insertion in the prose before stanza 1 of the statement that Sigurðr was easily recognizable.²³ Detter and Heinzel (p. 388) suggest that stanza 3 be regarded as an interpolation and Gering also brackets the stanza. Bugge had offered a different suggestion,²⁴ that a stanza is perhaps lost between 4 and 5, in which Geitir reported Sigurð's name. This does not, however, do away entirely with the inconsistency and has met with no acceptance. Neither does the procedure of Detter and Heinzel leave things in an entirely satisfactory condition and there is nothing in stanza 3 itself to suggest that it does not belong to the poem. It seems to me much more probable that stanza 3 was recorded in the

¹⁷ For an appreciation of this aspect of the poem see Heusler's introduction to Genzmer's translation: Genzmer, *Edda; erster Band, Heldendichtung* (=Niedner, *Thule*, 1) (1912), p. 134.

¹⁸ For suggestions for other parts, particularly by Edzardi, see the footnotes of Gering's edition: *Die Lieder der älteren Edda*, 3. Aufl. (1912), pp. 276 ff.

¹⁹ *Sigurðr var auþkendr*; cf. Detter und Heinzel, *Sæmundar Edda*, II (1903), 387; though the reasoning of these commentators that the prose is thereby proved to have belonged originally to the poem before its inclusion in the Eddic collection is hardly to be subscribed to.

²⁰ *Norraen Fornkvæði* (1867), p. 205.

²¹ Cf. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (1911), pp. 470 f.

²² Cf. however on this point Brugmann, *Kurze vergl. Grammatik der indogerm. Sprachen* (1903), § 425.

²³ Cf. Torp, *Gamalnorsk ordavleiding*, § 19, in Hægstad og Torp, *Gamalnorsk ordbok* (1909).

²⁴ Cf. especially Mogk, Paul's *Grundriss*, II (1902), 626 ff.

wrong place and that it should stand after 4. The sequence of events would then be: Sigurþr asked Geitir the name of the occupant of the house and was informed that it was Grípir; he asked as stranger for an audience; Geitir obediently reported that a stranger wished admittance; he was sent back to ascertain the stranger's name and was informed that it was Sigurþr Sigmundarson; having learned his identity Grípir comes out, greets him as Sigurþr and bids him welcome. With this change the assumption of a lost stanza or two seems to me unnecessary, as the context becomes sufficiently clear without it. If understood in this way stanza 5, verse 3: *Þigg hér, Sigurþr! væri sœmra fyrr*; ("Be welcome, Sigurþr! it would have been more fitting before") is better understood as a natural apology for not having admitted him immediately, not as it is generally interpreted as a reproach for not having come before.²⁵

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DAPHNÉ: ALFRED DE VIGNY HISTORIEN

M. Fernand Gregh vient de publier *Daphné*, cette œuvre à laquelle Vigny a fait allusion dans le *Journal d'un Poète* et dont le titre mystérieux avait intrigué les critiques.¹

Daphné est la suite directe de *Stello*, paru en 1832 et qui portait en exergue: "Les Consultations du Docteur Noir, Première Consultation." Les deux interlocuteurs de *Stello* sont les mêmes que dans *Daphné*: Stello et le Doc-

teur Noir; le premier personnifie l'enthousiasme, le second l'esprit critique du poète. C'est un épisode, le seul qui soit achevé, d'un grand roman cyclique qui devait mettre en scène le réformateur religieux à travers les âges. Ecrivain en 1837, Vigny était encore sous le coup de l'impression produite par les *Paroles d'un Croyant* que Lamennais venait de publier et qui avaient obtenu un succès prodigieux.

Le roman, dont l'action se passait à l'époque contemporaine, devait renfermer trois épisodes historiques introduits d'une façon quelconque dans sa trame. Ainsi *Daphné* est un manuscrit de lettres écrites par un jeune Juif, élève de Libanius, que lisent ensemble Stello et le Docteur Noir. Des autres épisodes et du roman proprement dit, il ne reste que des fragments souvent très intéressants. Témoin cette description de la foule parisienne un soir de fête si réaliste et en même temps si poétique et que M. Savj-Lopez admire à si juste titre.² Nous savons aussi que les deux autres épisodes devaient rouler sur Mélancthon et J. J. Rousseau, comme *Daphné* met en scène Julien l'Apostat. Ces trois réformateurs devaient échouer parce qu'ils avaient trop de tendresse pour l'humanité, qu'il leur manquait cette dureté implacable de Luther et de Voltaire.

Ces lettres du jeune Juif, qui forment la deuxième partie et la plus importante de *Daphné*, nous présentent un merveilleux tableau de l'état moral de l'empire romain au IV^e siècle et un Julien l'Apostat des plus attachants et des plus profonds qui soient. Au milieu de l'envahissement de l'empire par le christianisme, il reste un flot à peine atteint par le flot montant de la nouvelle doctrine: c'est *Daphné*, le faubourg d'Antioche, au temple et au bois sacré si fameux, demeure de Libanius qui personnifie ici la suprême sagesse. De ce sommet Libanius embrasse le présent et l'avenir: l'inutilité de la tentative de Julien—on ne chasse pas une religion avec de la philosophie—; la ruine du christianisme grec trop subtil, trop argumentateur, bon à produire des sectes qui

²⁵ The Grimm brothers, *Lieder der alten Edda* (1815), p. 130, referred to the possibility of an alternative interpretation of the latter half of this verse.

¹ *Daphné* (Deuxième Consultation du Docteur Noir). Œuvre posthume publiée d'après le manuscrit original. Avec une préface et des notes par Fernand Gregh. Edition définitive. Paris, Ch. Delagrave, 1913. *Daphné* a été publié pour la première fois mais d'une façon moins complète, par M. Gregh dans la *Revue de Paris* (15 juin, 1^{er} juillet et 15 juillet 1912).

² "Dafne. Un'opera postuma di Alfred de Vigny," par Paolo Savj-Lopez, *Nuova Antologia*, 16 novembre, 1913.

s'entredéchirent; l'avènement et le triomphe de la religion simple, entière, sans arrière-pensée, du Barbare. Julien, qui avait cru trouver de l'encouragement auprès de son ancien maître, accueille ce verdict avec la constance, le sourire du philosophe qui se rend compte que le vulgaire doit nécessairement lui échapper.

M. Gregh a pu dire dans sa préface: "Dans ces lettres, Vigny apparaît nettement un précurseur. Maintes fois en le lisant, on pense déjà, pour le pittoresque, au Flaubert de *Salammbo* et de la *Tentation*; pour la grâce alexandrine et pour la délicatesse avec laquelle la couleur locale est posée çà et là, à l'Anatole France de *Thaïs*; pour le savoir et l'amplitude de l'intelligence, au Renan des *Dialogues philosophiques*." Il n'y a là aucune exagération. M. Gregh aurait même pu ajouter qu'il fait songer à Fustel de Coulanges pour l'intelligence de l'histoire et l'interprétation des documents. C'est même sur ce point que je voudrais attirer l'attention. Page 85, Libanius explique que la société est en train de se transformer, que les bases de la morale sont ébranlées:

"Voici encore une de ces actions qui jettent le trouble dans l'âme des plus justes et pour lesquelles ils ne sauraient quel avis donner. Sur quel droit s'appuyer pour blâmer et pour approuver? Notre temps n'est vraiment semblable à aucun temps, si l'on ne sait pas regarder plus haut que les événements.

"Deux familles viennent de se réfugier à Daphné. Ces deux familles demandent à Antioche asile et protection. Et voici un homme, le père et le chef de la première famille, un Publius Claudius, un patricien, citoyen romain de l'ancienne race des Claudiens qui avait trois branches patriciennes et une plébéienne, lui qui était beau-frère du dernier comte d'Orient sous Constantin, le voici, parce que sa fortune est réduite à une petite terre en Syrie, qui donne sa terre, sa personne, ses enfants, sa postérité, ses serviteurs et les fils et les filles de ses serviteurs, à titre de sujets, redevables envers leur maître, à perpétuité d'un dixième de leur bien ou du produit de leurs travaux; et ce maître, ce possesseur souverain est l'affranchi Théodore de Batné, autrefois joueur de la flûte double, qui a des propriétés d'une immense étendue et qui les a toujours défendues contre les Barbares, à l'aide de la faveur des empereurs, de ses richesses, de ses esclaves armés et

des remparts dont il a entouré ses terres et ses châteaux. Or ce Publius Claudius est chrétien et se donne ainsi corps et biens à un Hellénien qu'il nomme païen ou paysan quand il en parle; et ce Théodore de Batné, par souvenir de son ancien état ne cesse d'affranchir ses esclaves et autres et n'exige d'eux qu'un travail assez modéré qu'il leur paie par journées. Quelquefois il leur donne des terres qu'ils cultivent et l'un d'eux s'étant fait chrétien,—favorisé par le duc d'Egypte et par Athanase, ce factieux patriarche, banni d'Alexandrie,—s'est trouvé assez riche pour vendre sa protection à une autre famille Hellénienne qui est là aussi près de mon foyer. Voici dans ma main les deux traités de ces familles suppliantes avec les familles souveraines qui, au nom de leur richesse et de leur force, vont les recevoir esclaves, mais esclaves d'une nouvelle sorte: c'est un esclavage volontaire pareil à celui de l'enfant sur le bras de la femme, de la femme sur le bras de l'homme. Et tout cela n'est consacré par aucune loi des dieux ni des hommes et cependant cela étant nécessaire doit vivre à travers tout et cet ordre inconnu prend naissance au milieu des désordres."

M. Gregh nous dit alors en note: "Vigny fait pour ainsi dire sortir le moyen âge de l'empire romain et montre les origines supposées de la féodalité et de la dîme dans l'antiquité même."

Evidemment; mais quand on songe que ce passage a été écrit en 1837, on reste confondu. Qu'on se rappelle qu'à cette époque il n'y avait que deux manières d'expliquer l'origine de la féodalité. L'une, celle à laquelle le nom de Montesquieu est resté attaché, était que les Barbares, en entrant dans l'empire romain, y avaient introduit la coutume du compagnonnage ou "comitatus" suivant l'expression de Tacite, mais que le chef avait pris l'habitude de distribuer des terres en présents, au lieu des cadeaux d'armes ou de chevaux qu'il leur donnait en Germanie.³ C'est l'idée de Loyseau dans son *Traité des Seigneuries* publié en 1608. Guizot et Pardessus,⁴ contemporains de Vigny, partageaient cette opinion. L'autre théorie, acceptée par Gibbon, qui, à l'époque de Vigny, avait plus d'autorité que personne en matière d'histoire romaine, est ainsi formulée par le

³ Montesquieu, *Esprit des Lois*, XXX, cc. 3 ss.

⁴ Guizot, *Essais*, 1823, pp. 122 ss; Pardessus, *Lex Salica*, p. 490 ss.

grand historien: "The lands bestowed on the veterans as the free reward of their valour, were henceforward [sous Alexandre Sévère] granted under a condition, which contains the first rudiments of the feudal tenures, that their sons who succeeded to the inheritance should devote themselves to the profession of arms as soon as they attained the age of manhood." C'était la théorie de Jacques Godefroy (1587-1652) dans son édition du Code Théodosien (l. VII, 15). Tillemont et l'abbé Dubos avaient adopté cette manière de voir.

Mais en 1850, Paul von Roth dans un livre qui fait époque⁵ montra qu'à l'origine, c'est-à-dire à l'époque mérovingienne, le bénéfice n'avait rien de militaire, qu'il ne prit ce caractère que beaucoup plus tard. Georg Waitz, dans son histoire de la constitution allemande, démontrait de plus que le régime féodal ne se rattachait aucunement au compagnonnage ou "comitatus" des anciens Germains,⁶ que c'était un état de choses basé sur le besoin de protection du faible qui s'adressait à un puissant et que ce lien unissait autant les particuliers ensemble qu'avec le chef; on ne le rencontrait d'ailleurs que chez les Francs et point chez les autres tribus germaniques. Il restait, toutefois, à Fustel de Coulanges d'en indiquer l'origine. Dans son *Histoire des Institutions politiques de l'ancienne France*, dont les derniers volumes n'ont été publiés qu'après sa mort arrivée en 1889, il démontrait d'une manière irréfutable que le régime féodal, en tant qu'il repose sur la dépendance mutuelle des propriétés foncières, sur l'abandon du titre de possession absolue fait au puissant par le faible en échange de sa protection, était en pleine voie de développement au quatrième siècle, sous le nom de précaire, nom qu'il a d'ailleurs gardé pendant la période mérovingienne.⁷ On sait qu'au quatrième siècle la population libre diminuait, que les curies ne trouvaient plus à recruter de nouveaux membres. Pour échapper à l'oppression, les hommes libres, les paysans surtout,

trop exposés, préféraient se reconnaître clients des grands, mais clients d'une nouvelle espèce par une formule qu'on appelait précaire. "Voici donc à ce qu'il semble comment les choses se passaient. Le petit paysan, qui, pour quelque raison, avait besoin de la protection d'un grand, s'adressait à lui. Il lui demandait de protéger, non sa personne seulement, mais plutôt sa terre, son fundus. Le grand répliquait probablement qu'il ne pouvait protéger que ce qui était à lui. Alors le paysan lui transférait sa terre, soit par une donation complète, soit par une vente. C'était cette vente qu'une loi de 373 appelait une fiction ou un mensonge."⁸ Car le paysan conservait, bien entendu, l'usage, l'usufruit de sa terre moyennant une redevance. La ressemblance de cette explication avec le passage de Vigny est certainement remarquable. Mais pour finir cet exposé, il faut ajouter que les empereurs Valens, Théodose, Honorius et Arcadius prononcèrent successivement des peines très sévères, dont la moindre était la confiscation de la moitié de la propriété du précaire et une forte amende au riche, contre ceux qui se rendraient coupables de cette nouvelle sorte d'illégalité. Rien n'y fit; le besoin de protection était trop fort et les dangers trop grands qui menaçaient celui qui restait seul. Cet état de choses devait transformer tout le système de la propriété. Comme le dit M. G. Bloch dans le tome I^{er} de *L'Histoire de France* de Lavissee, page 444: "La recommandation combinée avec le précaire n'est pas seulement un des moyens par lesquels s'est développée la grande propriété. Elle contenait en germe les deux institutions dans lesquelles se résume ou peu s'en faut, tout le régime féodal, la vassalité et le fief"; et page 448: "Il ne manque au propriétaire que d'être un chef militaire. Il le sera quand les circonstances l'exigeront. Le même Ecclésiastique qui aura nourri quatre mille pauvres pendant une famine, lèvera à ses frais une troupe de cavaliers pour repousser une incursion de Wisigoths (Sidoine Appollinaire, Ep. III, 3)."⁹

⁵ *Geschichte des Beneficialwesens von der ältesten Zeiten bis ins zehnte Jahrhundert*, Erlangen.

⁶ *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, 3e édition, Berlin, 1880, p. 398.

⁷ Voir entre autres le tome V, *Les Origines du Système féodal*.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 103.

⁹ L'Histoire de Lavissee publiée en 1900 est la première œuvre d'ensemble qui connaisse cette explication.

Tel est donc l'état de la question. La science historique confirme presque mot pour mot la manière de voir de Vigny. Mais quand on songe qu'il a fallu tout le génie de trois historiens pour arriver à cette solution et qu'on la voit toute faite, clairement conçue et exprimée, dans un roman de Vigny cinquante ans auparavant, on ne peut s'empêcher d'admirer.

Mais une question se pose: Est-ce par un pur hasard que le poète a *donné* dans cette découverte? On peut sans hésiter répondre que non. Outre qu'il pensait à Julien et à son temps depuis de nombreuses années, il avait beaucoup lu sur ces époques. Il avait d'abord lu Gibbon, mais Gibbon ne le menait pas sur le bon chemin. Il avait lu, il nous le dit lui-même, le *pro Templis* de Libanius et probablement le *de Patrociniiis* du même sophiste, qui traite précisément du patronat et de l'abus qu'en font les paysans pour se soustraire aux impôts et maltraiter leurs voisins non protégés. Ces protecteurs, dans l'occurrence, se trouvent être des soldats. Là encore, Vigny aurait pu faire fausse route s'il avait suivi le rhéteur de trop près: car celui-ci se plaint précisément que les paysans aient abandonné leurs vrais patrons pour s'attacher à ces soldats. Mais parmi les guides que suit Gibbon et auxquels il renvoie fréquemment le lecteur se trouve Tillemont. La méthode de Tillemont est très propre à inspirer à qui en est capable des idées générales. Elle consiste à déterminer exactement la chronologie des faits et à rassembler tous les documents qui sont de nature à les éclairer, en s'en tenant d'ailleurs strictement à l'ordre chronologique. La plupart du temps, il se contente de résumer brièvement et aussi fidèlement que possible les documents en question en y mêlant très parcimonieusement ses propres réflexions. Ainsi au sujet de ce nouveau patronat basé sur le précaire que les empereurs essaient vainement d'enrayer, Tillemont¹⁰ résume le discours de Libanius *de Patrociniiis* qui se rapporte à un genre de protection très spéciale, mais montre du moins le besoin d'appui qu'avait le paysan. Il cite ensuite la loi de Théodose à la date de 392 qui interdit le pa-

tronat fondé sur le précaire. Il rappelle la loi de Valens de 370 sur le même sujet et mentionne le renouvellement de ces interdictions par les successeurs de Théodose, Arcadius et Honorius. Quelques pages plus loin, à l'article LXIV, page 341, Tillemont nous donne la loi du 1er juillet 391 qui ordonne aux particuliers "de repousser avec les armes et de tuer ceux qui viendroient la nuit piller leurs champs ou qui assiégeroient les grands chemins, quand même ce seroient des soldats: ces sortes de crimes méritant d'être punis sur-le-champ sans attendre l'autorité des juges qui ne pouvoient venir assez tôt pour les empêcher." Puis vient l'histoire de ce Lucien qui pour arriver au pouvoir avait cédé ses propriétés au préfet Rufin. Ce Lucien était fils d'un ancien préfet des Gaules. C'était aussi un parfait honnête homme: sa probité fut d'ailleurs cause de sa ruine. Devenu comte d'Orient grâce à l'appui de son seigneur Rufin, il s'opposa à l'injustice de l'oncle de l'empereur. Rufin le fit alors tuer. Rapprochée des autres textes, on voit tout de suite que cette cession de propriétés est de l'espèce dont l'histoire de cette époque est pleine. On s'étonne même en voyant cette concordance que l'idée de la vraie origine du système féodal ne soit pas venue à Gibbon ni à aucun des historiens avant Fustel de Coulanges. Mais c'est qu'on avait des idées trop inexactes sur l'époque mérovingienne. Néanmoins, les éléments de la théorie générale sont là rassemblés, sans parti-pris, par Tillemont. Et que Vigny ait lu Tillemont, il ne saurait y avoir le moindre doute. En effet dans *Daphné*, page 58, la première lettre de Joseph Jéchiaïh raconte la destruction d'un temple païen par les moines:

"On voyait revenir des campagnes, par troupes de cent ou deux cents hommes, des jeunes gens vêtus de robes noires ceintes d'une corde. . . . Ces hommes avaient l'air irrité. . . . Notre frère Siméon de Gad m'apprit que ces hommes venaient de courir les campagnes voisines d'Antioche, comme ils ne cessent de faire chaque jour, pour forcer les campagnards à briser les statues de leurs dieux. Mais il leur faut pour cela livrer de rudes combats. Les villages ne cèdent pas sur ce point aussi promptement que les villes et leurs habitants qui n'ont pas la mollesse des citadins,

¹⁰ *Histoire des Empereurs*, tome V, article LXI.

tuent, à coups d'arbalète et de piques, les Nazaréens qui veulent toucher à leurs petits temples et défendent mieux leurs dieux de bois que les riches leurs dieux de marbre et d'or. . . . Notre frère, Siméon de Gad, à qui je demandai le nom de ces étranges personnages, me dit avec un léger sourire qu'il ne put s'empêcher de laisser percer sur l'habituelle gravité de son langage, que ces hommes qui couraient en foule et souvent par troupes nombreuses s'appelaient depuis quelques années solitaires ou moines. Pour moi, cela ne me paraît pas surprenant quand je vois s'établir aussi peu à peu dans tout l'empire la coutume de nommer *paysans*, en langage de Rome, tous les adorateurs des dieux, de quelque rang qu'ils soient, à cause de la résistance obstinée des villageois ou *pagani*."

Nous avons là, résumé d'une façon vivante, le *pro Templis* de Libanius, sauf la dernière phrase sur l'étymologie de païens, car Libanius écrivant et pensant en grec ne s'inquiète pas de ce mélange d'idées particulier au latin. Par contre, dans Tillemont, *Histoire des empereurs*, tome 5, page 232, à la suite du résumé du *pro Templis*, se trouve la même observation sur l'emploi du mot *pagani*. La ressemblance est trop frappante pour que ce ne soit qu'une simple coïncidence. Dans une des notes de *Daphné*, page 206, Vigny résume de nouveau le *pro Templis* en le faisant suivre de cette étymologie du mot païen exactement comme dans Tillemont.

Ceci, d'ailleurs, n'est pas pour atténuer son mérite, mais pour montrer au contraire que cette idée que dans le patronat fondé sur le précaire se trouve l'origine de la féodalité, est une vue synthétique résultant de la lecture des textes et à laquelle il est arrivé pour les mêmes raisons que cinquante ans plus tard Fustel de Coulanges.¹¹ Certes les faits eux-mêmes qui symbolisent cette révolution ne sont pas historiques. Il n'y a pas eu de Claudius qui, à ma connaissance, se soit fait le précariste d'un Théodore de Batné; Libanius en 363 n'était

pas le vieillard que nous dépeint Vigny: il n'avait pas encore atteint la cinquantaine; ni Julien n'a réellement prononcé cette parole: "Tu as vaincu, Galiléen"; elle n'est pas non plus de lui, la formule que lui fait employer Vigny au commencement de la dernière lettre qu'aurait écrite l'empereur: "Moi, Julien, souverain-pontife, serviteur du Soleil-Roi et de tous les dieux, exterminateur des Francs et des autres Barbares, libérateur de la Gaule et de l'Italie . . ." elle se trouve dans une lettre apocryphe. Cela Vigny le savait; il a pris ces traits, il les a fondus ensemble, il en a fait sortir une vérité plus profonde, embrassant dans une synthèse poétique toute une époque dont elle donne la clé.

Les admirateurs de Vigny nous sauront peut-être gré d'avoir attiré l'attention sur une faculté du poète qu'il n'avait pas montré, au même degré, dans ses autres œuvres. Si la fonction de l'historien rentre dans le domaine de l'action, c'est bien à Vigny qu'on pourrait appliquer cette pensée de son *Journal d'un Poète*: "Prouver qu'une âme contemplative comme celle de Julien, quand elle daigne donner quelques-unes de ses idées à l'action, la domine et l'agrandit."

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NOTES ON CHAUCER: THE CANTERBURY TALES

THE PLIMPTON FRAGMENT OF THE CANTERBURY TALES

A fragmentary ms. of Chaucer's greatest work, which seems virtually unknown,¹ yet is owned in this country, is of much interest even though it consists of only a single sheet. Its courteous and liberal owner is Mr. George A. Plimpton of New York, who secured it from

¹¹ On peut voir dans ses notes les lectures qu'il a faites: les œuvres de Julien, naturellement, de saint Jean Chrysostome, de Grégoire de Nazianze, de saint Augustin, qui dans ses sermons fait allusion à ce nouveau patronat comme à une coutume ordinaire, etc.

¹ It is mentioned by neither Skeat nor Miss Hammond, and is doubtless the only Chaucer MS. on this side of the Atlantic. Mr. W. A. Craigie obligingly tells me that it is mentioned in Thorpe's Catalogue for 1836.

the Philipps collection at Cheltenham; "Philipps ms. 9970 (234)" stands at the bottom of the first page. It is well written on vellum by a single hand, "the ordinary formal hand of the second quarter of the fifteenth century, say c. 1430-50; certainly not later than 1450."² It was the outside sheet of a quire of four, having catchwords for the next quire at the bottom of the fourth page, and what may be a signature (possibly O or a peculiar form of P) at the bottom of the first. The fourth page has been much soiled and scribbled on (with the date "Ap. 18:1651"), and the sheet then folded twice at right angles, stained by some liquid and pressed in some way, perhaps used in binding another book.

The fragment makes partial amends for its brevity by containing passages of interest to the higher critic; on pp. 1 and 2, the *Merchant's Epilogue* (E, 2419-2440), the *Squire's Prologue*³ (assigned to the Franklin, F, 1-8), the Franklin's proem and the beginning of his tale (F, 709-752), and on pp. 3 and 4 a further part of his tale (F, 1198-1272). Of the eight mss. published in full by the Chaucer Society, the Plimpton ms. is most like the Petworth, reading *frankeleyn* for *squier* in *Sq. Prol.* 1, with mss. Petworth and Hengwrt, and inverting the first two lines of *Frankl. T.*, with mss. Petworth, Corpus and Lansdowne. For *Merch. Ep.* we are able to compare it with two more mss., and for *Sq. Prol.* with seven.⁴ Of all these fifteen mss. the Plimpton ms. is most like Cambridge Mm 2.5.⁵ It belongs pretty clearly to Type IV. of mss.,⁶ the chief mark

of which is splitting and rearranging groups E and F. While it has some (so far as we can tell) unique corruptions,⁷ it seems to represent a transition to such corrupt texts as CmMm and Pt. As to the original contents of the ms. of course we cannot tell much. If the fragment belonged to quire O or P, 13 or 14 quires, 208 or 224 pages and upwards of 7700 or 8300 lines preceded. So the ms. cannot have agreed in contents and arrangement with CmMm, which originally contained about 13500 lines, before the *Merchant's Epilogue*, nor with normal Type IV. mss., which contain nearly 12000 (including *Gamelyn*), or about 11000 (without it). The value of such a fragment of course is not textual, but is in the light it may throw on the later history of the ms. tradition. It adds another to the small group called by Miss Hammond IV. d, including otherwise only Petworth and Cambridge Mm.

IN PRINCIPIO: PROL. 254

For the Friar's pleasant *In principio*, which helped so much in his begging, Dr. Skeat quotes from Tyndale an illustration which shows that "the friars constantly quoted this text." But this as it stands is a little unaccountable; at all events there is something more in the reference. The opening of St. John's Gospel, the most impressive statement of the central dogma of Catholic theology, was and is regarded with peculiar reverence and used in various ways, liturgical and superstitious. The whole passage, "In principio . . . omnia per ipsum facta sunt" (vv. 1-3), was used with various ceremonies as a charm against fever by the Anglo-Saxons.⁸ St. Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, is said to have cured a demoniac by the use of holy-water and reciting "In principio . . . plenum gratie et veritatis" (vv. 1-14).⁹ In various ways the Middle Ages showed espe-

² This information, on the basis of a photograph, is due to the kindness of Mr. Madan, Bodley's Librarian, and Mr. Craigie.

³ The "epilogue" and "prologue" in this MS. bear out what I have said elsewhere about the error of making "E" and "F" two groups. They are written with no division whatever, with not even a large capital between. However, I have retained the usual terms.

⁴ Six-Text edition (Chaucer Soc.), introduction to vol. I., pp. 46-57.

⁵ E, 2419, god; 2422, as wemen ben for and as; F, 3, ge can.

⁶ Cf. *Six-Text*, I, Trial-tables; Skeat, IV, xxiii.; Miss Hammond, *Bibliogr. Manual*, 165-172.

⁷ A curious dialectical or individual pronunciation is indicated by the writing of *shl-* for *sl-*; *shleyghthe* (!) E 2421, *shleppte* F 721, *shlouthe* F 1232, *shlute* F 1260.

⁸ *Saxon Leechdoms* (Rolls Ser., 1864-6) II, 136.

⁹ *Magna Vita S. Hugonis* (Rolls Ser., 1864), 275-6; Roger of Wendover (ib. 1886-9), I, 305.

cial reverence for this passage; it was sometimes read at baptism and at extreme unction, and was used for superstitious purposes, inscribed on amulets and charms.¹⁰ On nearly every Roman Catholic altar to-day stand two framed "altar-cards," one containing part of the canon of the mass, the other this passage, (vv. 1-14), which forms the usual "last gospel," read after mass. At the end of the consecration of a bishop, he recites the passage. Less markedly, it appears in many other places in liturgies both Latin and English.

FRIDAY WEATHER: *KN. T.* 1539

The Knight, comparing the lover Arcite's variable spirits to the changeable weather of Friday, adds rather inappositely

Selde is the Friday al the wyke y-like,

which Dr. Skeat illustrates by a Devonshire proverb and an Old French passage. The same supposed fact is stated and accounted for in Alexander Neckam's *De Naturis Rerum*.¹¹ Venus of all the planets is most benevolent to earthly beings. "Hinc est quod sexta feria, in qua Venus dominatur, fere semper aliam faciem praetendere videtur quam caeteri dies hebdomadae." The reason is that since living creatures need both heat and moisture, and this planet is of hot and moist nature, it good-naturedly sends heat after a wet week and wet after a hot week. What can be simpler!

SIMKIN'S RUSE: *REEVE'S T.* 4057-4106

Simkin the miller, to distract the over-shrewd clerks Allan and John so they cannot do as they intended (*i. e.*, spy on his rascality), unties their horse and lets him run after wild mares in the fen. Much the same trick, for a similar purpose, is played by Loki on a mountain-giant, in the *Gylfaginning* in the *Prose Edda*.¹² The giant undertakes to build

a great burg for the gods and finish it before summer, and demands as reward the sun and moon, and Freyja as wife; the work nears completion with the marvelous help of his horse Svaðilfari, the gods grow alarmed at the payment they must make, and Loki undertakes that the work shall be unfinished when summer comes, and the reward therefore forfeited. As the giant drives his stallion in the evening for rocks, Loki in the form of a mare runs neighing out of the woods; Svaðilfari bursts his harness and keeps the giant chasing him all night, and the loss of time saves Freyja and the sun and moon.

CHANTECLEER'S CHIVALRY: *N. P. T.* 4372-3

He chukketh, whan he hath a corn y-founde,
And to him rennen thanne his wyves alle.

The same nice observation is found in a 15th century Latin poem from Bohemia, *De Gallo*, on the resemblance between a cock and a priest.

Gallus granum reperit, conuocat uxores
Et illud distribuit inter cariores.¹³

THE PURSUIT OF THE FOX: *N. P. T.* 4565-91

The rape of Chantecler by the fox is well illustrated by a carved miserere¹⁴ in that finest of English parish-churches, St. Botolph's, Boston, Lincolnshire. A fox is running off with a cock, its neck in his mouth and its body lying over on his shoulder.¹⁵ Behind him is a woman in pursuit, with a distaff in her right hand and a spindle in her left.¹⁶ At the narrow bottom of the miserere a hen is looking on in evident bereavement. The carving is skilful in composition and execution, and contains the essentials of Chaucer's lively scene, as much detail as could be put in such small space. It seems to be about contemporary

¹⁰ *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy, phil.-hist. Cl., 1861; XXXVI, 162.

¹¹ The 18th of the upper stall seats on the south side of the choir.

¹² And bar upon his bak the cok away (4569).

¹³ Ran . . . Malkin, with a distaf in hir hand (4574).

¹⁴ *Catholic Encyclopedia*, s. v. Gospel, p. 662.

¹⁵ *Rolls Ser.*, 1863, pp. 42-3.

¹⁶ *Prosaische Edda im Auszuge*, ed. Wilken (Paderborn, 1877), pp. 52-4; *Die Edda* (tr. Gering), 331-3; *Younger Edda* (tr. Anderson, Chicago, 1880), 109-11.

with the tale.¹⁷ It is probably merely another illustration of the popular, traditional character of the pursuit-scene.¹⁸

"HA, HA, THE FOX": *N. P. T.* 4571

Ha! ha! was the regular shout to frighten away a marauding animal. The 13th century Dominican Nicolas de Biard says, with a diverting application, in one of his sermons: "Non est lupus adeo incarnatus in ove quin fugiat si pastores continent clamare: *Ha! Ha!* Unde bonum est frequentare sermones."¹⁹

THE WIFE OF BATH'S REVENGE: *W. B. P.* 800-810

The Wife of Bath, never patient to excess, found her husband's readings aloud (721, etc.) from the book containing "Valerie and Theophraste" and other cynical literature a little too much. Yet when she has retaliated by tearing three leaves out of the book and knocking Jankin into the fire, and he again by knocking her senseless, after all this row she recovers her resourcefulness and shows that her creator at any rate has profited by some of this reading. For her final revenge seems borrowed from the very book which contains "Valerie," Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium*.

O! hastow slayn me, false thief? I seyde,
And for my land thus hastow mordred n.e?
Er I be deed, yet wol I kisse thee.

As Jankin knelt penitently to kiss her,

¹⁷ "Probably executed during the last quarter of the fourteenth century": *Reports and Papers . . . of the Architectural Societies of the Diocese of Lincoln*, etc., publ. by J. Williamson, Lincoln, p. 184 (kindness of the vicar of St. Botolph's).

¹⁸ Miss Petersen, *Sources of the N. P. T.*, pp. 10-21. In a late M. E. song by the Franciscan Ryman (Herrig's *Archiv*, LXXXIX, 285-6), the fox "toke a gose fast by the nek," and "threw a gose vpon his bak," and the goodwife "threw hir rok" at him. The relation of medieval sculpture to popular literature and folklore should prove as charming a subject to look into as the like relations of Greek vase-painting.

¹⁹ Hauréau in *Notices et Extraits des MSS. de la Bibl. Nat.* XXXIII, pt. 1, p. 267.

yet eft-sones I hit him on the cheke,
And seyde, 'theef, thus muchel am I wreke;
Now wol I dye, I may no lenger speke.'

Walter Map²⁰ tells the following anecdote of the foolish wrathfulness of the Welsh. One of two companions is shot, and charges the other to pursue the murderer, "'et mihi vitam meam ab ipso refer;'" unable to overtake the murderer and wreak vengeance, the second returns to his wounded comrade and tells of his failure. "'Veni huc,' inquit [vulneratus], 'ut susceptum a me osculum feras uxori meae et filiis, quia morior.'" As the other is about to kiss him, the wounded man stabs him in the belly. "'Perde,' inquiens, 'tuam [vitam] qui meam mihi per ignaviam non retulisti.'" Then the second disembowels the first, saying he is only sorry he cannot convey such kisses to the wife and children.

FRIARS IN HELL: *SUMN. PROL.* 1675-1706

The curtain-raiser, in the Sumner's *Prologue*, to his dramatic revenge on the Friar in his tale is not elsewhere extant, Dr. Skeat believed. However this may be, a story does exist of which this cannot be quite independent. It is of a Cistercian monk carried to heaven, who wondered to find there religious of many orders and none of his own. But the Queen of Heaven replied with a compliment, "aperiensque pallium suum quo amicta videbatur, quod mirae erat latitudinis, innumera-bilem multitudinem monachorum, conversorum, sanctimonialium illi ostendit," all Cistercians.²¹ Chaucer's jape has every appearance of being a vulgarization of this.

²⁰ Camden Soc., vol. L, p. 103, which is not long before the *Dissuasio Valerii* (142 ff.). A parallel to the Prioress' French of Stratford (*Prol.* 125) has also been noticed, on p. 236 ("loqui Gallicum Merleburgae"). The same treacherous-blow motive occurs in a memorably tragic form at the end of Mr. John Masefield's *Daffodil Fields*.

²¹ Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum* (Cologne, 1851), VII, 59; d'Ancona, *Precursori di Dante*, p. 72. I have heard Chaucer's story in a less coarse form told at the expense of a particularly narrow Protestant sect.

THE FRIAR'S VISION: *SUMN. T.* 1854-68

The friar in the *Sumner's Tale* shows more tact and presence of mind than the commentators give him credit for, when he tells his bereaved admirer instantly how he saw her child's soul borne to bliss.²² After avouching his vision by his venerable brothers the sexton and the infirmarer, he says he arose in tears, and all the convent,

Withouten noyse or clateringe of belles;
Te Deum was our song and nothing elles.

Te Deum would be sung not as a thanksgiving for a sinless soul gone to paradise, an unmediaeval suggestion quoted by Dr. Skeat from Bell, but in honor of the miraculous vision. Those who report the healing of a blind woman by the relics of St. Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, want the bells rung and *Te Deum* sung.²³ It was quite usual to do this after a miracle, in its honor and to call people together. After the healing of a blind girl by St. Dunstan, "tunc pulsato signo . . . concurrit universa civitas. . . . Coepimus itaque excelsis vocibus simul et lacrymabilibus Dominum Deum nostrum laudare,"²⁴ which last doubtless means that they sang *Te Deum laudamus, te dominum confitemur*. When the chapter of Lincoln are convinced (which was probably soon) that a dropsical woman and a dumb boy have really been cured by St. Hugh, the bells are rung and a procession made to the saint's tomb.²⁵ Another reason for bell-ringing in our case perhaps would be that Thomas and his family had taken out letters of fraternity in the friar's

²² Such visions are common enough, especially among the Anglo-Saxons. Another related by the Venerable Bede, besides that mentioned by Dr. Skeat, is St. Cuthbert's, of the shepherd Hadwald (*Vita S. Cuthberti*, ch. 34); cf. also Bede's *Hist. Eccl.* IV, 3 and 23. St. Cuthbert as a boy was said to have seen Aidan's soul carried by angels to heaven (Alfric's *Lives of Saints*, E. E. T. S. II, 142).

²³ *Magna Vita S. Hugonis* (Rolls Ser. 1864), p. 375.

²⁴ *Memorials of St. Dunstan* (Rolls Ser. 1874), p. 138.

²⁵ Vita, in Giraldus Cambrensis' works (Rolls Ser. 1874), VII. 126, 133.

convent (2126-8), and it was customary to toll a bell at the death of a member.²⁶ The reason why the friar says scornfully that in his case they did not make all this noise might be that anybody living within earshot would know the convent-bells had not rung that night.

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Schillers Anthologie-Gedichte, kritisch herausgegeben von DR. WOLFGANG STAMMLER.
 Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Weber's Verlag,
 1912. 8vo., 71 pp., M. 1.50.

This edition of Schiller's contributions to the *Anthologie auf das Jahr 1782* is issued as No. 93 of the *Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen*, edited by Hans Lietzmann, a collection which covers a vast and widely diversified field of study and which is, perhaps for that very reason, not so well known to Germanists as it deserves to be. The "Anthology" itself had been reproduced in 1905 by Fedor von Zobeltitz as No. 5 of his *Neudrucke literar-historischer Seltenheiten*. Outwardly attractive—far more so than its Tobolsko prototype—and faithful to its original in many little details of typography, this reproduction is unfortunately extremely unreliable, as has been pointed out by Lietzmann (*Euphorion*, XV) and E. Müller (*Jahresberichte* for 1905). Stammler's text of Schiller's share in these poems—the operetta *Semele* alone is omitted—is better than that of v. Zobeltitz, though hardly to the extent that one might expect of an editor who speaks of the work of his predecessor as "unbrauchbar."

The signatures¹ that Stammler assigns to Schiller are: A. M. O. v.R. Rr. W. W.D. Y. *. †. The absence of the letter X. in this list is sufficiently explained by the statement of

²⁶ Rock, *Church of Our Fathers*, 2nd ed., II, 244-5.

¹ X. is, on p. 69, erroneously listed under both Abel and Schiller.

Abel² in his autobiography (a manuscript in the archives of Cotta) that he himself is the author of the "Lied eines Eifersüchtigen." Questionable, however, is the absence of the signature P., and more than questionable its assignment to Petersen. The four poems bearing this signature should probably have been included in the collection.

The two principles that have guided the editor in his work are stated as follows in the preface: "die orthographie ist von den setzerwillkürlichkeiten gereinigt worden . . . die . . . interpunktion aber habe ich energisch modernisiert." Now a normalization of orthography for a critical edition of an author can surely be based only on that author's usage at the time in question. Sufficient evidence as to what Schiller's usage was in the year 1781 may be gathered from the edition of the *Briefe* by Jonas. Accepting this principle, Stammmler's changing of *ck* into *k* is justifiable—the ten or twelve instances of *ck* in the *Anthologie* may actually be put down to the score of the compositor. Such is not the case with the change of *dt* to *d* in *Todt* (7, 32; 24, 1; 28, 44), witness the letters, Jonas I, 14 and I, 22; nor with the alteration, in the inflected forms of *süsz*, of *sz* into *s* (35, 32; 35, 42; 37, 68). In regard to the latter Stammmler is, in fact, remarkably inconsistent: 32, 3 he changes *süser* into *süzer*—the opposite of his usual procedure, and perhaps a misprint—while 11, 7 and 14, 98 he retains an original *sz*, 11, 7 being, to be sure, an instance in rime. For *sz* see Schiller's letter to Petersen, Jonas I, 16. It is also not wise to attempt to introduce by means of the apostrophe a differentiation between preterit and present forms: in some cases, as *e. g.* in 18, 29, *Vater Föbus hört mit Lachen*, there is no certainty that a preterit and not a present is intended.

A normalization of punctuation such as Stammmler has carried through is still more dubious in a critical edition of an eighteenth century poet, and there is no warrant for it whatsoever in Schiller's letters. If such a leveling be undertaken, it must proceed on the

basis not of what would be expected in a modern production but of what is normal for Schiller at the given time. And that this punctuation, call it "unglaublich verworren"³ if you will, is not due to the idiosyncrasies of a type-setter but is characteristic of the man at the time, may furthermore be shown by pointing out how regular is in comparison the punctuation of some of the other contributions to the *Anthologie*. Besides, such leveling may at times destroy indications as to manner of reading. Indications of this nature I should find in the use of commas 25, 30; 33, 88; 46, 4; 46, 21; all of them passages where these signs have, in accordance with modern usage, been removed by Stammmler. So the interrogation in 29, 16 may be entirely correct, and even if it is not, its occurrence in the original text should be noted in the variants. The same remark applies, with even greater force, to 42, 7.

For *Die Seeligen Augenblicke* (No. 9) the variants from Stäudlin's *Musenalmanach* are incomplete and in two instances (ll. 8 and 11) inaccurate, this latter all the stranger since Goedeke gives in both instances the correct readings.

Misprints have been noted as follows: 4, 1 (*Himmels!*); 4, 23 (*Das = Des*); 9, 36 (*acherontschen = acherontschen*); 14, 35 (*Flut*); 28, 14 and 16 ('s as in 29, 12); 28, 27 (*Mich* not spaced); 34, 8 (*Hohl*); 37, 53 (*win = winkt*); 37, 65 (*Lieben = Leben*); 40, 16 (*Dein = Deine*); 47, 5 and 6 (*S'regnet* and *S'g'wittert*).

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Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra: a Memoir.

By JAMES FITZMAURICE-KELLY. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1913. 8vo., xx + 228 pp.

Ever since the late Cristóbal Pérez Pastor revolutionized the study of Cervantes by the publication of one hundred and sixty-one new

² See J. Hartmann, *Schillers Jugendfreunde*, p. 110.

³ Leitzmann, *Euphorion*, XV, 217.

documents relating to that writer, his family, and his friends,¹ a new biography of the author of *Don Quijote* has been a need recognized among scholars. While Professor Wallace's important discoveries relating to Shakespeare have attracted so much popular attention, the general reading public in England and America has been ignorant of the far richer mass of material illuminating the life of Shakespeare's great contemporary which the archives of Spain have yielded up. For this indifference the English reader is not to blame. The results of recent investigations have never before been brought to his attention in their entirety, although Fitzmaurice-Kelly has himself used some of them in his more recent writings, notably in the two studies devoted to Cervantes in his *Chapters on Spanish Literature* and his articles in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

Pérez Pastor's discoveries are not sensational. He discovered, for instance, nothing so interesting as the famous find of Ceán Bermúdez, those documents in which Cervantes, petitioning for an office in the Indies, sets forth his military services and gives a full account of his sufferings in Algiers, documents which the youthful Ticknor saw and studied before their publication by Navarrete. Neither did he find anything so startling as the evidence in the Ezpeleta case which Máinez first published. And happily, too, he found against Cervantes nothing so damning as Lope de Vega's famous libel suit scandal. The value of Pérez Pastor's Cervantine "documents" consists in the many petty details of information which they bring to periods in Cervantes' life which had formerly been dark. No single "document" is in itself of supreme importance; but the sum total of information afforded by the 161 is very great. We know far more about Cervantes' family, his complicated financial negotiations, the events of his last and most fruitful years.

Unfortunately Pérez Pastor, so diligent in unearthing new facts, was less happy in interpreting them. It is his merit that he sought

the needle in the haystack, and often found it, without having had beforehand the comforting assurance that the needle actually existed. But having collected his material at the expense of prodigious effort, he showed, in interpreting it, that he was lacking both in the art of presenting his discoveries in attractive form, and, what is more serious, in a judicious, conservative, scientific method. The publication of Cotarelo y Mori's *Efemérides Cervantinas*² marked a considerable advance in the interpretation of the new material, but Cotarelo, too, occasionally lets his enthusiasms get the better of his judgment, and with characteristic Spanish gallantry sometimes refuses to look an unpleasant fact in the face, charitably advancing an improbable explanation instead of the disagreeable, but obvious, one.

In the present volume Fitzmaurice-Kelly has attempted a new interpretation of the known facts relating to the life of Cervantes, passing in review the work of all his predecessors from Diego de Haedo down to the present day. His aim is "to place on record all that is positively known of Cervantes' life, to sift the guesses from the facts, and to establish the facts by such evidence as might satisfy a legal tribunal." He prints no new documents, such happy finds are not to be expected of the foreign investigator, and few of the actual facts in the book will be new to Hispanists; but even the latter will find much that is original in the way of interpretation. Few workers in the field have had the patience to digest thoroughly these numerous documents, the exact legal meaning of which the layman often finds it difficult to determine. The way in which Fitzmaurice-Kelly marshals his material is wholly admirable. Only proved facts are admitted to the text. Even the most conservative inferences are relegated to the footnotes. Rash speculation is avoided altogether. He eschews all rhetoric, banishes all literary criticism; those in search of this must consult his other books. For the moment his

¹ Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos hasta ahora inéditos*, Madrid, Vol. I, 1897, Vol. II, 1902.

² Cotarelo y Mori, *Efemérides cervantinas ó sea resumen cronológico de la vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, Madrid, 1905.

sole aim has been to reduce the life of Cervantes to its lowest terms, to dissipate baseless legends, to place Cervantine biography upon a sound footing which will render impossible for the future any such succession of dilettante lives of Cervantes as those which have appeared in the past. At the risk of being thought a Gradgrind, he has steadfastly stuck to facts, and for this we thank him.

Fitzmaurice-Kelly has avoided that common stumbling-block of many writers on Cervantes, the effort to extract biographical facts from Cervantes' own writings. That these contain much that may be autobiographical is well known; but who, in such cases, can undertake to separate truth from fiction? To illustrate: In *La ilustre fregona* the heroine, Costanza, is courted by a Salamanican student, Tomás de Avendaño, son of a certain Juan de Avendaño. Now, Cervantes had a niece named Costanza who we know received, on the 14th of January, 1614, a remittance of one thousand *reales* from a certain Juan de Avendaño, then in Trujillo, Peru. Now, how easy it is to put two and two together and construct a more or less plausible little romance on the basis of this coincidence of names. But Fitzmaurice-Kelly does not even mention the fact that these names occur in *La ilustre fregona*. He doubtless thinks, and rightly, that such speculations, however interesting and plausible, find no place in scientific biography.³ One more example of Fitzmaurice-Kelly's praiseworthy conservatism. A document first printed by Gerónimo Morán tells how in September, 1569, a certain Myguel de Zerbantes wounded Antonio de Sigura in a duel and was sentenced to have his right hand chopped

off, after which he was to be exiled for ten years. Confirmation of this seems to be afforded by a passage in *El gallardo Español* in which Don Fernando de Saavedra flees to Italy as the consequence of a duel. This interesting story, accepted by many historians as the reason for Cervantes' departure for Italy, Fitzmaurice-Kelly merely mentions in a footnote. There are no chronological difficulties to prevent the identification of Myguel de Zerbantes with our protagonist. But would the evidence "satisfy a legal tribunal"? Fitzmaurice-Kelly evidently thinks that it would not.

There can be no more striking illustration of what the last twenty years have brought us in the way of definite information respecting Cervantes than that afforded by a comparison of the present book with Fitzmaurice-Kelly's earlier *Life of Cervantes*,⁴ a work still held in high esteem by everybody except its author, but which unfortunately appeared on the eve of important discoveries which rendered obsolete many of its statements. I take only a few examples out of many. Nearly a whole chapter of the *Life of Cervantes* is devoted to an interesting account of the military campaign in the Azores in which Cervantes was thought to have participated. Instead of this, the present book, following Pérez Pastor, shows that it is next to impossible that Cervantes could have participated in the expedition. A sentence of fact has replaced a chapter of conjecture. But the opposite also occurs. In many places where lack of data forced him to be laconic, the author is now very full. Speaking of Cervantes' sister, Andrea, Fitzmaurice-Kelly had said: "It is no small loss that we are acquainted solely with the tantalising outlines of her sweet, self-effacing, feminine character, with their soft, shadowy suggestiveness of charm." The outlines are now filled in, and in a way wholly unexpected. There are certain of the documents which we wish had never seen the light. The illusions are more satisfactory than the reality. In another place, speaking of Cervantes' daughter,

³ Cf. Blanca de los Ríos, *Del siglo de oro*, Madrid, 1910, pp. 167 ff. Doña Blanca discovered that a Juan de Avendaño matriculated at Salamanca in 1584 and that three years previously there had matriculated at the same university a Diego de Carriazo. This last is the name of another character in *La ilustre fregona*. All this cannot be mere coincidence. But what positive inferences can we draw regarding the life of Cervantes and his family? Fitzmaurice-Kelly plainly does not accept as proved Doña Blanca's theory that Cervantes studied at Salamanca.

⁴ Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *The Life of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, London, 1892.

Isabel de Saavedra, and her mother, Fitzmaurice-Kelly said: "Nothing whatever is known of her, nothing at this day is likely to be discovered about her; and the whole question might be passed over were it not for the *curiosos impertinentes*, the literary ghouls who manifest their interest in high literature by leaving *Don Quijote* unread, and striving to discover the name of Cervantes' mistress." How little the author of these lines imagined that a priest would unearth details which "literary ghouls" had sought in vain.

If the reviewer has hinted at certain unpleasant things that have been discovered with reference to the Cervantes family, it is not from a desire to emulate the aforementioned ghouls but to stress the fact that we now have a wholly different conception of Cervantes' latter years. He seems to have been a man without "honor," and in an age and country in which the point of honor was most rigidly insisted upon. We are no longer permitted to believe the pleasing legend of Cervantes supporting a poverty-stricken family of seamstresses on the meager earnings of his pen. Although they passed through periods of financial stress, Cervantes' sisters and daughter were usually much more comfortably circumstanced than he. He had something far worse than poverty to contend against. With slight authority in a family of which he was himself the most indigent member, Cervantes seems to have been powerless to control the conduct of his wayward sisters and daughter. If in compliance with the savage honor code of his day he had ruthlessly murdered Isabel de Saavedra or at least crossed swords with her venerable benefactor, Juan de Urbina, he might have risen in public estimation. The age admired the Othellos and had scant sympathy for even a Desdemona. It is to Cervantes' credit that he preferred to practice the Christian forgiveness of his own *Celoso Estremeno*. He was not a Calderonian gallant, but very much of a bourgeois. Brave as a soldier, he was weak and indulgent with his womankind. We can now more easily understand why in his latter years he was something of a *déclassé*, why the Conde de Lemos did not care to take

him to Naples in his suite, why in the Ezpeleta trial his family was so persistently persecuted when there was no real evidence against them, why he never achieved high preferment in the public service, why in writing *El celoso estremo* he elaborated an honor code so at variance with that of his time. There may have been other reasons too, and doubtless there were; but nothing in the seventeenth century could have counted more heavily against a soldier like Cervantes than to be thought careless of the point of honor.

There still remain many baffling points in the life of Cervantes. There are still blank spaces to be filled in. The future may bring surprises. But Fitzmaurice-Kelly has neglected no authentic source of information now available. The limitations of the present volume are those of historical science itself. Few men would care to have their biographies based so largely upon documents revealing their legal and financial transactions. The darker side of Cervantes' life is that of which we have the most complete record. The resultant picture cannot but be slightly distorted. We like to think that those years when he had no legal history were happy years and measurably prosperous. But it is a matter of congratulation that Cervantes' character has met this severe test in so satisfactory a manner. The few very venial faults which have been discovered in it will readily be pardoned. Cervantes continues to be one of the most lovable characters in the history of literature.

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Graded French Method, by WILLIAM F. GIESE.
New York, Holt, 1913. x + 438 pp.

It is hard to compose a grammar for beginners under any circumstances. But when, in addition to the exposition of grammatical facts, there is set the condition that from the very outset the student shall acquire a feeling for the language by reading many pages of a foreign text attractive both in style and sub-

ject, the difficulties are greatly increased. Professor Giese offers us "a series of simple graded texts, each illustrating with multiple repetition a given and limited amount of grammatical theory." In his preface, he further points out that "the usual colorless and unimpressive disconnected sentence has been wholly abandoned, for the reason that the student seems to acquire through it but little grammar, still less vocabulary, and almost no feeling for the living language." With surprising fertility, the author has succeeded in producing a large amount of reading matter, in which he hammers home the points of grammar already studied. The "reading" of each chapter is followed by ample opportunity for translation into French of connected prose based on the text and of a drill made up of detached sentences. Throughout the book there is a confessed desire not to bore the student, even the examples of accident and syntax are such as to spur the attention, e. g., *Toute folle que vous êtes, je vous ai épousée.* (§ 218.)

There could be nothing but praise for this method of teaching, did it not entail unavoidable weaknesses. No matter how skilfully arranged, that which is entertaining in style and in subject cannot be absolutely elementary in language. In order, then, that the text and the grammar may work together, the grammatical material cannot be given in the usual way. There is forced upon it an arrangement which is at times necessarily unnatural. For instance, Mr. Giese gives the rules for the agreement of past participles without explaining the use of *avoir* and *être* as auxiliaries.¹ The complicated syntax of *faire*, *laisser*, *écouter*, etc. with a complementary infinitive are given in the first chapter² whereas the forms of the finite tenses, of *avoir* and *être*, and of the conjunctive and relative pronouns—all of them so useful for the understanding of the illustrative examples—do not appear till considerably later.³ The rules for the sequence

of tenses in the subjunctive⁴ similarly precede by many pages the forms of the imperfect subjunctive,⁵ so that the example *Je désirais qu'il partît*, loses much of its value, as does the capital quotation from Georges Sand, which, protesting against the use of the clumsy endings in *-assent* and *-assiez*, is a natural corroboration of the statement that the present is substituted for the imperfect. The same desire to facilitate the reading of an interesting text is no doubt responsible for the introduction of details which can hardly be considered essentials of elementary grammar at all; e. g., the occasional omission of *pas* in a *si*-clause,⁶ and such anomalous constructions as *envoyez qui vous voudrez* and *qui plus est, il est aveugle.*⁷ The presence of such advanced material is all the more surprising when we note the omission of elementary facts. Mr. Giese, as far as we can see, makes no real statement of what intransitive verbs take the auxiliary *être* (§ 159) says nothing of *il* and *ce* as subjects of *être*, gives no rules for numerals in the writing of dates, and makes no mention of such constructions as *quelque chose de joli*, or *que . . . de possible*, the latter used in one of his own "readings."⁸

It is hardly possible to attribute to the same cause a distinct lack of terseness and clarity in the explanation of grammatical points. The rule for the order of the conjunctive pronouns after an affirmative imperative⁹ is excellent in its regard for simplicity and its neglect of variants; but this section is marred by a needlessly complicated presentation of their order in combination when they precede the verb.¹⁰ The treatment of relative and interrogative pronouns is likewise by no means all that could be desired. We can hardly imagine the callow student threading his way successfully through a paragraph like the following: "As direct object *qu'est-ce que* may replace *que* in all cases. As subject *qu'est-ce qui* must replace it

¹ §§ 103-107.

² § 99, given in smaller type, indicating that it is mainly intended for reference. The difference in the type should be greater.

³ §§ 108 ff., 157, 129, 180.

⁴ §§ 201, 202.

⁵ § 220.

⁶ § 123.

⁷ § 189.

⁸ P. 147.

⁹ § 139 b.

¹⁰ § 140.

in all cases except nominative predicate of a few verbs, such as *être*, *devenir*, and *paraître*, and as subject of impersonal verbs—and here *qu'est-ce que* may replace it."¹¹ Elsewhere, in his explanation of *dont* (§ 184), Mr. Giese complicates his statement by the needless introduction of a Latin case-name—a practice against which we have already protested.¹² More serious still perhaps is the inclusion of both *Je sais qui vous êtes* and *Je sais ce que vous êtes* as examples of the use of relative pronouns (§ 188). From the English standpoint both "I know *who* you are" and "I know *what* you are" contain interrogatives. The point should be made that the French cannot use all their interrogative pronouns in indirect questions. In the neuter, both subject and direct object, they substitute a relative preceded by a demonstrative.

The main emphasis in this Graded French Method is then, as the author himself suggests, laid on the reading. The various texts are entertaining, instructive and, considering the conditions under which they were composed, surprisingly French. But, on the other hand, the grammar has suffered. The only fair test of a beginners' book is of course, not its effect upon a teacher reading it in his study, but the results it produces in the pupil. Lacking the experience of this ultimate test, however, we are tempted to consider the shortcomings of this volume as an argument against the principles on which it was constructed. If, in order to carry out his method, so careful an author is forced to sacrifice a clear, logical development, to skimp grammatical essentials and to introduce unnecessarily advanced details,¹³ the fault must lie with the method

itself. Mr. Giese calls the old system with its disconnected sentences "unpedagogic."¹⁴ Far from being that, it still seems to us to be the best way to lay a sound foundation. Not only is it more direct, more logical in its progression and productive of a much-needed training in thoroughness and accuracy; but also, if properly taught, it is not so unattractive as is sometimes supposed. In the hands of a live teacher, it develops in the student a sense of power which soon attracts him in and for itself. And then, with such a foundation, how much more rapid is his progress when he comes to the reading and grammar of more advanced classes!

A review of this book would be incomplete, did it not mention a careful study of pronunciation including the two-page "Alphabet of Phonetic Symbols" contributed by Mr. Barry Cerf.

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MAURICE GRAMMONT. *Le Vers français, ses moyens d'expression, son harmonie*. Deuxième édition refondue et augmentée. Paris: Ed. Champion, 1913. 8vo., 510 pp. (Collection linguistique publiée par la Société de linguistique de Paris, 5.)

Voici la deuxième édition d'un ouvrage dont la première publication date de 1904. Le livre, dans son ensemble, demeure ce qu'il était: non pas la théorie scientifique du vers français,—qui reste à faire,—mais l'étude précise, approfondie et intelligente d'un homme de goût, sur les moyens d'expression et l'harmonie du vers français. Outre un certain nombre de corrections de détail,¹ cette édition apporte quelques modifications d'un intérêt divers:

¹⁴ Preface.

¹ Tout le chap. I est remanié: le fond reste le même, mais l'ordre y est plus précis et la composition plus serrée. P. 72, M.G. renonce à la boutade qui lui avait fait écrire: "le *Petit Roi de Galice*, dont le fond est en tétramètres, mais où il y a plusieurs trimètres et quelques pentamètres ou hexa-

¹¹ § 197. See also § 94 note, both in small type.

¹² *MLN.*, April, 1913.

¹³ In addition to what has already been indicated we might mention the following: "mute e" used, §§ 6, 7, has not been previously explained; the examples at times are not adequate, e. g., no example of pluperf. = English past perf. (§ 162); then again they contain either an unusual vocabulary, e. g., *pas d'argent*, *pas de suisse* (§ 166), or verb forms which, considering the matter already given, cannot be understood, e. g., *il était temps que je vous dise cela* (§ 202), *dussé-je mourir* (§ 206).

Tout d'abord, M.G. renonce au "système orthographique" adopté dans la première édition, et j'avoue, sous cette forme, trouver plus d'agrément à la lecture de son livre: il y a je ne sais quel malaise à lire des citations poétiques, où l'orthographe traditionnelle est maintenue, encadrées de commentaires où "ritmes," "strofes" et "types métriques" sont exprimés en "grafies" réformées.

Le Chapitre II sur le *rejet* et l'*enjambement* est nouveau. Après l'avoir systématiquement écarté de la première édition, M.G. s'est rendu compte de l'arbitraire d'une telle exclusion et la répare en quelques pages; d'heureux exemples viennent l'illustrer; pour Hugo seul, le choix ne me paraît pas excellent toujours, et l'on pouvait aisément relever chez lui, me semble-t-il, des rejets singulièrement plus expressifs. Au reste, le chapitre dans son ensemble, est le développement des pp. 93-98 du *Petit traité de Versification française* du même auteur.

P. 67 sqq., M.G. refait tout le chapitre sur les "trimètres": il fond ensemble les trois subdivisions d'abord introduites, "vers romantiques," "trimètres de Racine," "trimètres non romantiques." La rédaction n'est pas seule à y gagner: on aperçoit beaucoup mieux de la sorte les transitions entre les techniques des diverses époques, et, au lieu d'une classification

mètres, est une pièce en vers libres." C'était l'expression paradoxale d'une vérité assez simple: mais cela avait choqué le critique de la *Zeitschrift für fr. Spr. und Lit.*, qui l'avait gravement relevé. Le voilà satisfait pour la forme; toutefois l'idée est reprise plus clairement p. 103.—P. 170, on s'étonne de ne voir même pas mentionné le livre de Martinon sur les *Strophes*.—P. 311 sq., M.G. modifie, clarifie et assouplit le chapitre sur le "point d'articulation" dont le titre devient: "Réunion de consonnes diverses."—P. 103, il faudrait corriger: "le chapitre précédent" en "l'avant-dernier chapitre"; M.G. a oublié qu'il en a intercalé un.—P. 432-437, je regrette que M.G. n'ait pas modifié la forme un peu puérile du "palmarès" où il distribue des "prix d'harmonie" entre les divers poètes, et les place dans l'ordre suivant: Racine, Hugo, Musset, Leconte de Lisle, Boileau, Lamartine. Encore V. Hugo et Racine ont-ils manqué être "ex-aequo"! (p. 436).—On ne peut enfin s'empêcher de regretter une Bibliographie que M.G. était si bien en état de fournir.

un peu sèche et morte, nous apercevons une vivante évolution: le chapitre entier mène ainsi, d'un mouvement logique, à sa conclusion (p. 76): "le trimètre romantique n'est qu'une étape dans l'évolution de l'alexandrin classique."

Le chapitre (p. 84-103) sur la *Variété du mouvement rythmique* est neuf aussi. M.G. y étudie les différences de durée entre deux mesures d'un même vers, et, après avoir indiqué que l'oreille peut malaisément en juger, il affirme que "ce que l'oreille ne peut apprécier exactement, la *phonétique expérimentale* permet aujourd'hui de l'isoler, de le mesurer avec exactitude, et d'en calculer les variations infinitésimales."² Ces procédés, M.G. les applique à une analyse de six vers de Victor Hugo, et, à coup sûr, cette étude si scrupuleuse n'est pas sans intérêt. Avouerai-je qu'elle ne m'a pas convaincu? Sans doute M.G. indique (p. 87) que "loin de confier la diction des vers étudiés au premier venu, voire à des illettrés, il n'a jamais eu recours qu'à des personnes—compétentes et expérimentées—qui se sont seulement efforcées de les dire avec le plus de perfection possible, en se conformant aux intentions du poète, telles qu'elles ressortent du détail de la facture." Voilà de rassurantes précautions. Sont-elles toutefois suffisantes pour garantir la rigueur "scientifique" d'une pareille étude? Je ne suis pas grand clerc en déclamation, mais je n'arrive pas à me convaincre que "les intentions du poète" ou "le détail de la facture" exigent pour ces deux vers:

² M.G. est dur pour les travaux antérieurs: "Tous sont sans valeur, et plusieurs sont ridicules. Leurs défauts viennent de ce que ceux qui les ont faits ignoraient ce que c'est qu'un vers français."—Ne viennent-ils pas aussi de ce qu'à l'égard du vers français, la phonétique expérimentale, dont nous pouvons attendre beaucoup pour l'avenir, n'en est pas arrivée encore à l'ère des conclusions? La même impression se dégage de la thèse importante de M.G. Lote sur *l'Alexandrin français d'après la phonétique expérimentale* (Paris, 1913), où de très laborieuses recherches n'aboutissent en somme qu'à des conclusions en général assez prévues, et quelques-unes d'une évidence qui pouvait s'accommoder d'un appareil moins imposant.

Qu' est-ce que le Seigneur va donner à cet homme
Qui, plus grand que César, plus grand même que
Rome. . . .

Qu'est		-ce que le Seigneur		va donner		à cet homme		...
97		22 18 15 39 93		27 30 35		18 17 37		54
97		187		92		126		

une diction telle que la syllabe *Qu'est* ait une durée plus longue que n'importe laquelle des vingt-trois autres ($^{97}/_{100}$ de seconde, contre $^{74}/_{100}$ pour *-sar* ou $^{86}/_{100}$ pour *Ro[me]*); — ni telle que le premier *grand* mérite $^{51}/_{100}$ de s. contre $^{41}/_{100}$ au second. A la vérité, je suis assuré que ces vers ont été bien dits: mais encore, y a-t-il là une base suffisante pour établir des conclusions générales, et qui méritent le titre de "scientifiques"? ³

Mais voici qui est plus grave: introduisant ce nouveau chapitre, M.G. ne semble pas s'être demandé s'il ne venait pas, sur quelque point, contredire les théories développées dans le reste de l'ouvrage. Or, il me paraît que, sur l'un des points essentiels, il a laissé subsister une étrange contradiction: page 13, on lit: "Quel que soit le nombre des syllabes d'une des quatre mesures, sa durée est égale au quart du temps total." C'est le principe, repris de Becq de Fouquières, sur lequel M.G. base toute sa théorie de la valeur expressive des coupes (p. 13-32). — Or l'analyse expérimentale qu'il donne, p. 88-89 de la seconde édition, apporte la vérification du fait exactement contraire:

Courbés		comme un cheval		qui sent venir		son maître		
27 36		16 20 26 51		18 24 10 26		26 56 23		
63		113		78		105		

³ Cet élément "subjectif," cet "impressionnisme," que l'on veut fuir en usant des moyens mécaniques de mesure, où va-t-il se nicher? "Les vibrations telles que nous les voyons sur nos tracés, lisons-nous p. 87, ne sont pas les vibrations réelles de notre voix. Elles ont été transmises par l'intermédiaire d'une membrane au stylet qui les a enregistrées. Cette membrane, quelle qu'en soit la nature, caoutchouc, papier, ébonite, lamelle d'acier, d'or, de verre, de mica,—les a déformées." M.G. Lote lui aussi reconnaît (p. 1) que la qualité des membranes de caoutchouc n'est pas immuable—"Mais, ajoute-t-il, ce détail n'a pas d'importance en ce qui nous occupe, les proportions restant égales." C'est aisément se rassurer: n'empêche que "l'enregistreur" lui-même a son équation personnelle, comme un simple critique dramatique.

—exemples qui prouvent⁴ que, loin d'être égale au quart du temps total, la durée de chacune des quatre fessures peut, dans le cas présent, être tantôt très voisine du $\frac{1}{4}$, tantôt du $\frac{1}{3}$. A quoi faut-il donc croire? et quelles conclusions sont les bonnes? celles qui reposent sur le principe de la p. 13, qu'on nous dit être démontré, ou celles basées sur les recherches expérimentales?

Sur un autre point encore, quelques réserves me paraissent nécessaires: suivant les errements de Becq de Fouquières,—et dans le désir d'établir une conformité un peu artificielle avec les divisions rythmiques des musiciens, M.G. persiste, dans cette seconde édition, à couper en deux les mots terminés par une muette, de façon à ce que la mesure s'achève sur une tonique, comme les mesures musicales sur un temps fort, la syllabe muette étant comptée dans la mesure suivante; d'où cette affirmation que, "dans le vers français une mesure finit toujours avec une syllabe tonique." Mais à la vérité, peut-on admettre cette façon de couper (p. 26 sq.) les vers suivants:

Lynx envers nos pareils, et tau | pes envers nous. . .
Phè | dre depuis longtemps ne craint plus de rival . . .
Rou | le, déjà poussé par la main des hivers . . .
Puis, à pas lents, musique en té | te, sans fureur. . .

Ces coupes sont inacceptables sitôt que l'on veut "dire" de tels vers, et il est singulier que M.G. qui a si profondément ce que Gaston Paris appelait "le sentiment du vers vivant," ait pu s'accommoder d'un pareil procédé.

Tout cela n'enlève que fort peu de chose à la valeur d'un tel ouvrage; il reste ce qu'il était dès le premier jour; l'étude minutieuse d'un homme de goût, à l'oreille très exercée, à la sensibilité artistique toujours en éveil, et qui apporte des analyses rythmiques extrêmement ingénieuses et fines; on ne saurait trop recommander la lecture des pages où, vers à vers, il

⁴ Noter que c'est aussi la conclusion des recherches de M.G. Lote, p. 114, sq.

étudie les *Deux Pigeons* (p. 147-154), ou le *Lac* (p. 181), les *Djinns* (p. 182-184), *Napoléon II* (p. 188-191), et où, suivant les contours et détours de la forme poétique, il mesure et révèle sans cesse l'appropriation exacte du rythme à l'idée, du vers au sentiment. Sur la valeur expressive des voyelles et des consonnes, sur ces mystérieuses correspondances sonores qui font l'harmonie du vers, M.G. a des pages subtiles et délicates. Peut-être regretterai-je la forme un peu trop systématique de l'exposition; tout cela est vrai sans doute, je le veux;—mais vrai en gros et en général; réduit en règles strictes, cela aboutit à condamner des vers dont d'autres s'accommoderaient sans aucune gêne (Cf. "*Vers imparfaitement harmonieux*," p. 417-427): on peut interjeter appel pour des vers comme ceux-ci, dont M.G. déclare "l'harmonie très difficile à saisir":

Comme eux vous fûtes pauvre, et comme eux orphelin. . . .
Et les os des héros blanchissent dans les plaines. . . .

On peut ne pas consentir à mettre sous la rubrique "*harmonie très faible*" (p. 425) des alexandrins comme:

Les souffles de la nuit flottaient sur Galgala. . . .

ou parmi les vers d' "*harmonie presque nulle*" (p. 427):

Qui ne livre son front qu' aux baisers des étoiles. . . .

ou:

D'une blanche lueur la clairière est baignée. . . .

Mais aussi pourquoi ces vers ne consentent-ils pas à se plier au "Système"?

Et, d'ailleurs, à l'égard de la valeur expressive des voyelles, sur laquelle M.G. a écrit tant de choses fines et indiscutables, l'exposé n'eût-il pas gagné en force persuasive à être présenté sous une forme moins systématique et arbitraire? En tout cela, les impressions personnelles de l'auteur n'ont guère moins de place que les données scientifiques incontestables; et je ne puis m'empêcher de relever un mince détail

qui témoigne de la relativité de telles affirmations; p. 287, le titre courant qui était *expression de l'admiration* devient dans la nouvelle édition, *expression de la contemplation* et il s'agit des mêmes exemples et des mêmes commentaires; à moins d'admettre que "*contemplation*" et "*admiration*" sont strictement synonymes, faut-il donc croire que, de 1904 à 1913, la valeur expressive des voyelles a évolué,—ou tout simplement que de telles conclusions n'ont pas la rigueur qu'on veut leur donner?

L'ouvrage de M.G. est d'une lecture extrêmement facile et attachante: s'il ne fait pas la lumière décisive sur toutes les lois cachées de la versification, il est, pour lire des vers français et les aimer, pour mieux pénétrer "le secret profond de l'harmonie qui chante sur les lèvres françaises depuis mille ans,"* le plus intelligent et le plus délicat des guides.

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A Middle English Bibliography—Dates, Dialects, and Sources of the XII, XIII, and XIV Century Monuments and Manuscripts, exclusive of the Works of Wyclif, Gower and Chaucer and the Documents in the London Dialect. Compiled by JOHN MANNING BOOKER. Heidelberg, Carl Winter, 1912. 8vo., pp. 76.

Dr. Booker's Bibliography is divided into two parts: the first—"Monuments" (pp. 1-52)—consists of a list of titles alphabetically arranged; the second—"Manuscripts" (pp. 52-76)—consists of a list of the manuscripts in which the material is preserved. It would have been of assistance to those who use this book, if the compiler had stated in definite terms the principles which governed him in admitting or excluding material. As nearly as one can judge from examining the lists themselves these principles were as follows:

*Gaston Paris. Préface de la trad. franç. du *Vers français* de Tobler.

1. Unprinted documents are not included, nor are references added to still unprinted manuscripts of texts included in his lists.

2. The date of the earliest extant manuscript rather than that of the composition of the text is taken as the basis. This means that fourteenth century material which occurs only in manuscripts subsequent to 1400 is ignored,¹ while in the case of a document preserved in fifteenth century as well as fourteenth century manuscripts, the latter alone are recorded.

3. Similarly, in applying the test of dialect in order to exclude documents within the London district, the dialect of the scribe, not that of the author, is the determining factor. Accordingly, *Adam Davy's Dreams*, even though composed at London, is admitted because the manuscript in which it is contained was written outside the precincts of this dialect. On the other hand, in repeated instances texts composed in other dialects are denied a place for the reason that they are preserved in manuscripts of the district of London.

It is easy to understand how this method came to be adopted when one notes Dr. Booker's statement in the Preface, that the Bibliography was originally designed for his own use in connection with his work on a purely linguistic problem. Nevertheless, the system has obvious disadvantages for those whose primary interest may be in the texts themselves rather than in the dialect color given to them by the scribes who copied them. Such persons will not easily be reconciled to the omission of the large amount of fourteenth century material which happens to be preserved in manuscripts after 1400.

Anyone who undertakes to draw up a list of Middle English compositions will find in the short poems his most vexing problem. Shall the title of each of these poems be listed, or shall a collection of these poems included in a single manuscript be treated as a unit? Dr. Booker wavers between the two methods. The

Five Joys of the Virgin and the *XI Pains of Hell*, in Jesus College ms. 29 are entered as separate titles, but the rest of the contents of the manuscript—including the important *Proverbs of Alfred*—are grouped under the title, "An Old English Miscellany." As the result of this arrangement one who consults the Bibliography for information concerning a particular piece of verse is likely to meet with difficulty. The poem which he seeks may be registered under its proper title, but it is more likely to be concealed in some of the numerous collections. And it may not occur to everyone in quest of *The Land of Cokaygne*, for example, to look for it under the heading, "Die Kildare Gedichte."

The manuscripts cited in his list of documents are only those from which the text in question has already been printed. Even these, however, are not always registered. The *Poema Morale* has also been printed from Egerton ms. 613 (Furnivall, *Early Eng. Poems*, pp. 22-34; *Old Eng. Hom.* I, 288 ff.), Jesus College Oxford ms. 29 (*Old Eng. Misc.*, pp. 58-71), and McClean ms. 123 (A. C. Paues, *Anglia* XXX, 217 ff.), though none of these manuscripts is mentioned. Under *Cursor Mundi*, not only are the three fifteenth century manuscripts—Trinity, Fairfax, and Bedford—ignored, but also the fourteenth century Göttingen ms.

In citing editions of the texts included in his list Dr. Booker makes no attempt at completeness. Ordinarily, he gives reference to only a single edition of the text. Thus, under *Athelston* the edition in *Englische Studien* is cited, but the print in *Reliquiae Antiquae* II. 85 ff. is ignored. Mall's edition of the *Harrowing of Hell* is the only one cited, the texts printed by Collier, Halliwell, Laing, and Bōdēker are ignored, and a reference to Hulme's edition is introduced under "Date of Original." Under *Havelok* one finds a citation of Skeat's Clarendon Press edition, but no mention of his E. E. T. S. edition. Holthausen's edition is casually mentioned in the authorities to the dialect of the poem. Lack of space prevents further illustration of this point.

Dr. Booker would have saved himself from error more than once by consulting the descrip-

¹ Dr. Booker relaxes this rule by admitting three 15th century mss.—Harl. 4196, Cott. Galba E. ix, and Egerton 927. But if all 14th century material preserved in manuscripts later than 1400 had been included his list would have been greatly extended.

tions in the published catalogues of manuscripts. For example, he would have discovered that "Laud I. 74" and "Laud 622," which he enters as separate manuscripts, are merely the earlier and later designations of the same codex—which is properly known as "Laud Misc. 622." Again, Dr. James's *Catalogue of the Trinity College Cambridge Mss.* (1900) would have enabled him to identify as ms. B. 14. 39 the manuscript which he refers to vaguely as "Trinity Cbr." (p. 24). He would have learned further that instead of being "Now lost," this manuscript was recovered in 1896. The manuscript entered as "Bodleian 9995 (formerly Tanner 169*)" is incorrectly designated: Tanner 169* is its present press-mark, and 9995 is its number in the Summary Catalogue. The manuscript cited as "Bodleian Additional 30519" is actually Bodl. ms. Eng. poet. f. 2; 30519 being the Summary Catalogue number.

Again in the dates which he assigns to manuscripts, Dr. Booker sometimes falls into error through neglecting recent authorities, as will be seen from the following enumeration, in which the opinion of recent authorities [bracketed] are contrasted with Dr. Booker's dates:

Addit. 10036; 2nd half xiv. [xv cent.—Ward, *Cat. of Rom.* I, 187; beg. of xv—Herbert, *Titus and Vespas.*]

Addit. 22283; no date given. ["1380-1400"—*Cat. of Rom.* I, 763.]

Arundel 57; 1340. ["About 1350"—*Cat. of Rom.* I, 307.]

Arundel 292; about middle of xiii. ["Late xiii"—*Cat. of Rom.* I, 163.]

Harl. 3954; xiv. ["About 1420"—Furnivall, *Pol. Rel. and Love Poems* (rev. ed.) p. 238.]

Laud Misc. 622; 1380-1400. ["About 1400"—Herbert, *Titus and Vespas.*]

Cott. ms. Otho C. xiii; 3rd quarter xiii. ["Late xiii or early xiv"—*Cat. of Rom.* I, 271.]

Royal 12. C. xii; Reign of Edw. II. ["About 1340"—*Cat. of Rom.* I, 316.]

Sloane 1044; xiv. ["xvth cent."—*Cat. of Rom.* I, 489.]

Cott. ms. Tib. E. vii; about 1350. ["About 1400"—*Cat. of Rom.* II, 740.]

Camb. Univ. Gg. 1. 1; 2nd half xiii. ["First third of xiv"—P. Meyer, *Romania* XV, 283.]

Cott. ms. Vitell. D. iii; 2nd half xiii. ["xivth cent."—*Cat. of Rom.* I, 716.]

In compiling a list of Middle English documents it was probably inevitable that there should be some omissions. I cite below printed texts which do not appear in Dr. Booker's register—omitting, of course, those which have been printed since 1907, the date at which his compilation ceased:

Holy-Rood Tree (ms. Bodl. 343, ed. Napier, E. E. T. S., Or. Ser. 103).

Metrical Homilies (Royal Coll. of Phys. ms. Edinb. ed. Small 1862; this text is noted in the ms. list but is ignored in the list of documents).

Life of Thomas a Becket (Harl. ms. 2277, ed. W. H. Black, Percy Soc. LIX).

Titus and Vespasian (earliest ms. Laud Misc. 622—the same which contains *Adam Davy* and *King Alisaunder*—ed. J. A. Herbert, Roxburghe Club, 1905).

Speculum Vitae (an important poem preserved in 32 mss.; first 370 lines printed *Eng. Stud.* VII, 468 ff.).

Lay-Folk's Catechism (ed. H. E. Nolloth, E. E. T. S., Or. Ser. 118).

Creed and Paternoster (Harl. ms. 3724, ed. *Rel. Antiq.* I, 57).

Interludium de Clerico et Puella (B. M. Addit. ms. 23,986, ed. *Rel. Antiq.* I, 145, Chambers, *Med. Stage*, App. U, W. Heuser, *Anglia* XXX, 306-19).

Pater Noster and Ave (Camb. Un. Hh. 6. 11, ed. *Rel. Antiq.* I, 169).

Creed, Paternoster, etc. (Caius Coll. Camb. ms., ed. *Rel. Antiq.* I, 169).

Poetical Scraps (Harl. ms. 2316, ed. *Rel. Antiq.* II, 119).

Caiphaz (Sloane ms. 2478, ed. *Rel. Antiq.* II, 241).

Herebert's *Hymns and Antiphons* (Phillips ms. 8336, ed. *Rel. Antiq.* I, 86 and II, 225).

Fragmentary Lyrics (Coll. of Arms ms. xxvii, ed. *Rel. Ant.* I, 19-20).

"Wyth was his halude brest," etc. (ms. Ecc. Dun. A. iii. 12, ed. *Pol. Rel. and Love Poems*, rev. ed., p. 243).

Short Relig. Poems from ms. Harl. 7322 (ed. *Pol. Rel. and Love Poems*, rev. ed., pp. 249 ff.).

Also, in view of the fact that *Kindheit Jesu* (Harl. 3954) is included, it is surprising to note the omission of other pieces in the same manuscript, e. g., "Filius Regis Mortuus est" (*Pol. Rel. and Love Poems*, pp. 238-242) and the "ABC Poem on the Passion" (*Ibid.* 271-278).

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CORRESPONDENCE

DAUN GERVEYS

Readers of the *Miller's Tale* will recall that the offended lover hastened across the street in the dead of night to a blacksmith's shop, where he found

A smith men cleped daun Gerveys,
That in his forge smithed plough-harneys;
He sharpeth shaar and culter bisily.¹

One might think that Chaucer here was indulging in a bit of poetic fancy, and sacrificing truth to the exigencies of fiction, if we hadn't a splendid bit of testimony to support the contrary. In 1394 the reputable blacksmiths of London petitioned the mayor "by reason of the great nuisance, noise and alarm experienced in divers ways by the neighbors around their dwellings," that no one in the future should work by night, but only from daylight until 9 P. M., except between November and February, when the hours were to be from 6 A. M. to 8 P. M.² Whether or not blacksmith shops were open at night in the 14th century may be of little importance to the student of Chaucer; that this passage beautifully illustrates Chaucer's contemporaneity is significant.

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¹ *Canterbury Tales* (Oxford edition) A 3761-63.

² Riley, *Memorials of London, etc.* (London, 1868), pp. 537 ff. Cf. T. C. Noble, *A Brief History of the Worshipful Company of Ironmongers*, London, 1351-1889 (London, 1889), p. 62. Both of these authorities refer to *Letter-Book H* (Ed. R. R. Sharpe, London, 1907), fol. cxcii, but the editor apparently has omitted it.

RECOVERED LINES OF BEN JONSON

Readers of Ben Jonson will be pleased to learn that no. xii of *The Forest* need no longer be considered fragmentary. The poem is addressed to Elizabeth, Countess of Rutland, and in the Folio of 1616 consists of ninety-two and one-half lines. At the end, Jonson added the words: "The rest is lost." A few weeks ago I turned up the missing portion in *Harl. MS.* 4064, f. 243 verso. I give the passage just as it stands there, except that I have expanded one contraction and placed in brackets for the sake of clearness a line or two from the Folio. Of course we cannot be certain that the text is just as Jonson would have printed it, and in the first ninety-two lines the MS. shows a number of variations from the Folio, though none of great importance.

[Moods, which the god-like Sydney oft did prove,
And your brave friend, and mine so well did love,
Who wheresoere he be] on what deare coast,
now thinking on you though to England lost
for that firme grace he holdes in your regard
I that am gratefull for him have prepard,
This hastie sacrifice wherein I reare
A vow, as new and ominous as the yeare
before his swift and circled race be run
my best of wishes; may you beare a sonne.

The attempt to date this piece offers a very pretty little problem. The poem would certainly seem to have been begun about New Year's, since the opening lines evidently contain allusions to the practice of distributing presents of gold and plate on the first of January. But it need not have been completed immediately, for, though intended quite clearly as some kind of memorial or anniversary gift to Lady Rutland, to whom Jonson says he is sending it instead of gold, yet her birth-day (the 31st of January) and the anniversary of her marriage, which took place shortly before the fifth of March, form, together with New Year's, a triad of important days occurring within a short period, and Jonson may very well have intended the fairly long poem to serve as a memorial present for all three. If we may then

assume provisionally that it was begun about January 1 and finished in the course of the next few weeks, how will the recovered portion aid us in determining the year of composition?

An attentive reading of the lines can leave no doubt that the 'brave friend' is the Earl of Rutland. Where then was the earl during January, February, and March, in the various years between his marriage and his death? The expression, 'on what deare coast,' suggests at once that he was abroad. Unfortunately, however, he was in England during the whole of every winter and spring throughout his married life, for we can trace his movements with some minuteness in the *Sidney Papers* and in the mss. of the Rutland family as published by the Historical mss. Commission. The hypothesis of a foreign journey, moreover, does not account for the strange expression, 'though to England lost.' When warring in Ireland in 1599, or in Holland in 1600, or when on an official mission to Denmark in 1603, Rutland was not 'lost to England;' on the contrary, he was engaged in her service. One important episode in his life, however, has not yet been mentioned.

Rutland took part in the outbreak of the Earl of Essex on February 8, 1601, and was in consequence imprisoned in the Tower from February 9 until August 8. Let us assume that Jonson begins his poem about January 1 of that year, intending to present it to the Countess in the course of the next few weeks as a gift in commemoration of New Year's day, of her birthday, and of her marriage anniversary. As he proceeds leisurely with its composition, he is astounded to learn that Rutland is in the Tower on a charge of high treason and in danger of losing his head. Jonson is not in a position to speak plainly to the Countess in such a moment of terror and anguish; he is no intimate friend, but merely a patronized poet. Moreover, the matter is political, dangerous to meddle with, dangerous even to write about. All that the poet can do is to allude in dark and enigmatical terms to the trying position in which the Countess is placed, hoping thus to express his sympathy without offence, perhaps without danger. Hence he hastily contrives

this mysterious conclusion, of which the language would apply especially well to the anxious period just after the outbreak, when the fate of Rutland was still uncertain. That the poem was actually presented would seem clear from the fact that we have a complete copy of it, and this could hardly emanate from Jonson, who at the time would desire to keep the piece secret and later had lost the conclusion. Indeed, it has been suggested to me that perhaps Jonson felt it unwise to keep the last few lines even in his own possession, and so tore off and destroyed them. The tearing would account in the middle of a sentence, but in the middle of a line, which would not be the case if a separate sheet had been mislaid or lost. I might add in support of this suggestion that Jonson, like any other dramatist of the day, was liable to arrest and examination at any moment. He would not have liked, when summoned before the Council and 'accused of Popery and treason,' as in the case of *Sejanus*, to be also questioned about his sympathy with the Essex conspirators.

This hypothesis seems to account pretty well for all the facts that we are aware of, and I am unable to frame any other that does. The general outline of Rutland's life is clear, and no important event in it can easily have escaped us. It may be remarked that Rutland died in 1612 without issue and that the Countess followed him in a few weeks, so that Jonson's pious 'vow' (he seems to have used the word in the sense of *votum*) remained unfulfilled. May one add that the 'vow' itself suggests that the poem could hardly have been written very long after the marriage in 1599?

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LENORA AND OSSIAN

It is obviously not very difficult to show specific cases of the influence of Bürger's *Lenore* on English poetry, and to show the influence of Macpherson's *Ossian* is even easier. But a poem in which the author, according to his

own admission, deliberately selects elements from both these sources is a literary curiosity of some interest,—all the more so when we find a further admixture of ballad-imitation and sentimentalism. Such a hybrid is Richard Polwhele's *Faithless Comala*,¹ which, so far as I know, has escaped the notice of Germanists and Celtists alike.

Now while about six-sevenths of Macpherson's *Ossian* is not Celtic at all, Polwhele happened in this imitation to hit on two elements which are genuinely Celtic and ancient: the chariot of Cuchulin (whom he calls *Cuthullin*, following Macpherson's blunder) and the Happy Otherworld lying resplendent far to the westward. If Polwhele's verse is rather worse than mediocre, we must at least admit that his poem contains the elements of a good story. And we may also be thankful that the author added his own notes² on the source, thus obviating the necessity of renewing the Bürger controversy.

The poem (which is too long to be quoted in full) begins with a conventional description of Comala and her lover, Connal. As Connal starts off for the war, Comala swears to be true to him, adding as a curse in case she prove disloyal:

May I ride on the wings of the tempest, and fly
Till I plunge into fathomless night.

In spite of her promise, she almost immediately yields her heart to a hero named Morlo, and the wedding day is fixed. The continuation is as follows:

¹ To be found in *Poems by Mr. Polwhele* (London, 1806), Vol. III, pp. 10 ff.

² Polwhele's note (p. 15) is as follows:

"I need not observe, that the idea of this Tale, after the manner of *OSSIAN*, was suggested by that wild German Story, *LEONORA*. It may possibly be objected, that the catastrophe is not strictly Ossianic: Perhaps, not. If I transport even Cuthullin's Car into 'the House of Thunder,' I mean not to represent the circumstance as Ossianic, or Runic, or Laplandic: I employ the imagery of Ossian in subservience to my own fancy. Though the single figures be Ossian's, yet the groupes are my own."

That day was at hand. The pale shadows were still:
The moment of midnight was nigh;
When in terror she listen'd to wheels on the hill,
And the trampling of horses hard by—
And a voice, as in fear: "Haste, my charmer, away!"

"Comala! my chariot ascend!
"Tis Morlo invites—and thy Morlo obey:
"O'er the heath let us speedily bend.

"Lo! Connal with vengeance approaches—e'en now
"The clashing of armour I hear!
"He comes with his warriors; and, death on his brow,
"He brandishes wildly the spear."

She sprung to the seat; while aloft on the pole,
And straight as an arrow he stood:
And the chariot roll'd hoarse, as the waterfalls roll,
When Winter descends in a flood.

Like a frost o'er the heath the cold moon-beams were spread:
The shaggy rocks glitter'd on high:
And the three mossy stones that gleam over the dead,
Caught, often, COMALA! thine eye.

And now at the foot of a mountain they came:
The coursers paw wildly the ground,
Then wind up the steep, like two volumes of flame,
To their hoofs as the caverns resound.

Save the din of their course, not a murmur was heard:
And, as echoed the dingles below,
Each oak in a pause of still horror appear'd,
And motionless, gaz'd the fleet roe.

On the top of the mountain scarce rattled the car,
When off like a meteor it flew:
And he said, as his steeds lightly gallop'd on air—
"Now, CONNALL, 'tis vain to pursue!"

"Ah whither, my MORLO! ah where are we borne?"
(With a cold shriek of horror she cry'd)
"Never fear! never fear! ere the glimpse of the morn
"I shall hail thee my high-bosomed bride."

Where they rush'd, the pale tower and the lake and the wood
Swam in dizzy confusion beneath;
Till the moon no more glimmer'd, descending in blood,
To the blast that sang shrill on the heath.

Wide over the foam of the ocean they flew,
As a gleam from the north would disclose
The waters that deep in a hollow withdrew,
Or, roaring in surges, arose.

Dark-red in the west now a fabric appear'd,
 Like cromlechs on cromlechs up-pil'd:
 At the sight, the steeds neigh'd, and then dreadfully
 rear'd,
 And snorted, with extasy wild.

"Lo yonder (he shouted) my turrets arise;
 "The castle stupendously swells:
 "See lights thro' the windows illumine the skies—
 "Far within is the feast of the shells.

"The bridesmaids look out from the chambers:
 behold!
 "They beckon, as swift we advance!
 "And hark! the magnificent portals unfold:
 "Full soon shall we waken the dance."

'Tis the House of the Thunder (she utter'd) O
 save—
 "See—see—thro' the breaches they dart!
 'O MORLO! look back!—and the lightnings I brave,
 "If COMALA yet live in thy heart."

He look'd—It was Connal! "I fell, yester-morn,
 "In the fight! But thy bed I prepare!"
 Cried the Spectre, his eyes flashing vengeance and
 scorn;
 Then vanish'd, at once, with his car.

Down—down, as to cling to the Thunder she tried,
 She dropp'd like an arrow of light:
 And whirl'd thro' the tempest the treacherous bride
 Was plung'd into fathomless night.

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BRIEF MENTION

The rapid progress that Spain has made in nearly every department of human endeavor, is strikingly exemplified in the development of the arts of printing and bookmaking. No country prints better books than Spain prints today, and what is of more importance, these books are produced at a price so low that they may be enjoyed by the poorest student. Italy had set a fine example in the series of *Scrittori d'Italia* published at Bari by Laterza, but Spain is in nowise behind. To the splendid series inaugurated by *La Lectura*, there is now added

the series of works by the *Biblioteca Renacimiento*. This latter is a "Colección de Obras maestras de la Literatura Universal," and the volumes issued so far do all honor to the enterprise. They are printed on excellent paper, in remarkably clear, new type, in volumes of about 350 pages, and are sold at the very low price of 2½ pesetas in cloth, and 3 pesetas in leather. Of these volumes of the *Biblioteca Renacimiento* three have so far appeared that are of capital importance. (1) *El Pasajero—Advertencias utilísimas á la Vida Humana* por el Doctor Christoual Suarez de Figueroa,—edited by Francisco Rodríguez Marín. This work has not been reprinted since 1618, and is a curious and important book. (2) *Cigarrales de Toledo*—por el Maestro Tirso de Molina,—edited by Victor Said Armesto. This is a reprint of the first edition of 1624, with the help of that of Barcelona, 1631. It is to be regretted that the comedias are omitted. (3) *La Dorotea*, acción en prosa, de Fray Lope de Vega Carpio—edited by Américo Castro, with a facsimile and an excellent reproduction of the portrait of Lope by Luis Tristan. These are all important volumes edited by well-known scholars, and their work has been excellently done. All these books had become excessively rare, and two were practically inaccessible: now they may be read without the fatigue to the eyes that the old prints cause, and the student need not read them in a borrowed copy. These volumes should be welcomed by all who take an interest in the literature of Spain.

H. A. R.

The annual report of the *Deutsche Kommission* of the Prussian Academy (*Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preuss. Akad. der Wiss.*, 1914, No. VI) gives a comprehensive survey of its various activities. One of the most important of these is the *Inventarisierung der deutschen Handschriften*, an inventory and analysis of all manuscripts written in German or referring in any way to German culture and history. Not only the well-known public libraries, but also small and remote collections, in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Italy, France, Scandinavia and Great Britain are minutely searched, and the material thus collected is digested by a trained staff. To date nearly 8,000 mss. have been described: to these there is a reference index of 370,000 cards, a proportion which affords an idea of the thoroughness and detail with which the contents are analyzed. For the *Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters* a number of

volumes are in press: *Rudolfs von Ems Weltchronik*; *Das Väterbuch*; *Die Pilgerfahrt des träumenden Mönchs*; *Gedicht von Johannes und Maria Magdalena*; *Das Marienleben des Schweizers Wernher*. The *Wieland-Ausgabe*, formerly under the direction of Erich Schmidt and B. Seuffert, is now to be in sole charge of the latter. Several volumes appeared during the year, others have been assigned, and the important critical apparatus to vols. I-IV and X is promised for the near future. Three dialect dictionaries are being prepared under the direction of the Commission: *Das Rheinische Wörterbuch*, previously edited by Franck, and since his death by Josef Müller of Bonn; *Das Hessen-Nassauische Wörterbuch*, edited by Wrede of Marburg; *Das Preussische Wörterbuch*, edited by Ziesemann. All of these continued their preliminary collections, the *Rheinisches Wörterbuch*, for example, with the aid of more than 400 new collaborators and correspondents. The cards collected to date for this dictionary number approximately 680,000. Last but not least, the *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, begun by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, is making steady progress. The material in hand comprises nearly two million cards; the various parts still unfinished, in letters G, T, U, V, W, X, Y, Z are in charge of nine editors working simultaneously, and independently of each other's progress. It would seem, therefore, that the end of the monumental work is finally in sight.

W. K.

In a pamphlet entitled *Der ideale Mittelpunkt Frankreichs im Mittelalter in Wirklichkeit und Dichtung* (Heidelberg, Winter, 1913, 73 pp.), Dr. L. Olschki aims to add another element to the modern conception of the French epic as a product of its time and environment. His purpose is to explain the prominence accorded Paris in the epic literature—a prominence out of proportion both to its traditional and its actual political importance in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The key lies, he thinks, in the symbolic character of the kingly figure in the *Chansons de Geste*. The Carolingian monarch does not there represent a national ruler—he is in that respect only the unimposing overlord of the insignificant Ile-de-France—, but is the imperial head of Christendom, the temporal leader of that broader spiritual France which represented the whole Christian world. Now the Paris of the times when the poems were composed, not rep-

resenting as yet a national capital, was already the idealistic center corresponding to this spiritual domain. It occupied this place, not of itself, but by reason of the abbey of St. Denis, rich in its royal traditions, monuments, and records. Thus Paris, long before it attained its material and political dominance, constituted "den idealen Mittelpunkt Frankreichs." The manifestation of this pre-eminence in the epic literature in turn materially aided, so Olschki thinks, the other elements which ended by making of Paris a national center, and of France a nation. The study is an interesting presentation of old materials in new relations, and while the author is not in every respect in full accord with Bédier, it is hardly to be doubted that it is one of the new type of studies in the epic of which the inspiration is to be directly traced to Bédier's renewal of the subject.

Poema de mio Cid, edición y notas de Ramón Menéndez Pidal, forming vol. XXIV of the "Clásicos Castellanos" (Madrid, La Lectura, 1913, 8vo., 360 pp.), enables us, at last, to read the poem of the Cid as a monument of literature. The editor's introduction (114 pages) is indeed noteworthy in that it treats the *Poema* as a literary masterpiece rather than as a linguistic document. Especially interesting are the chapters dealing with the literary and stylistic elements of the poem, its portrayal of social and military customs, and its relations to French epic poetry. The edition reproduces the critical text published in 1911, with the divisions into *El Destierro*, *Las Bodas* and *La Afrenta de Corpes*. In the present case the editor goes further, adding rubrics or chapter headings for each of the 152 assonance-series. Abundant notes serve to interpret the difficult passages in the text, mentioning but rarely the grammatical problems involved. Finally, in view of the accessibility of his *Cantar de Mio Cid*, the editor suppresses all critical, paleographical and bibliographical notes that can be found in the *Cantar*. The present volume is a most valuable addition to the library of Spanish literature; it is prepared for Spanish readers and for those foreigners who have a knowledge of Old Spanish. For the foreign student, there still remains the pressing need of a practical class-room text, with vocabulary and grammatical introduction. Let us hope that such a text will soon be edited by that scholar who is so eminently fitted for the task.